



**Praying for
the souls of
Britney and
friends P.79**

**DORM
DRAMA**
P.60



**DION OF
THE DEAD:**
Can he rise
again? P.24

**15 bitchy
women
take a
hike P.22**

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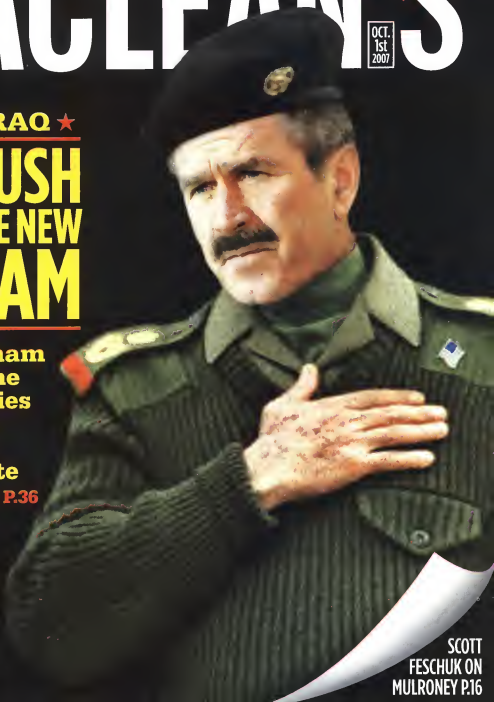
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**Patrick Graham
reports on the
brutal realities
and strange
alliances of
the desperate
U.S. mission P.36**



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**SCOTT
FESCHUK ON
MULRONEY P.16**

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MACLEAN'S

VOLUME 128 NUMBER 36 OCTOBER 1, 2007 • SINCE 1965

Interview

22 JANE CHRISTIAS

Kate Polson talks to Jane Christias about wandering the Camino with 14 women

Columns

14 CAPITAL DIARY

Witch! Sapped on the Outrigger! Met Me and Justin Trudeau in Oprah's mag

18 SCOTT PESCHKE

The day that Brian Murray swore at me

19 ANDREW POTTER

The reason Ottavio has no culture? It doesn't exist

Nationals

24 COLD, DISTANT DIDN'T

With members of Team within his party, Dion must work to shore up Liberal confidence

26 POVERTY'S GOLDEN AGE

The untold story in Canada: severe poverty is way down

30 THE HARPER STRATEGY

New Harper's team: tired of asking Canadians if they could lead to decide to Just Do It

32 AM BEFORE QUEBEC

A movement afoot in Quebec to leave its belle province for greener pastures: Alberta

34 A NORTHERN VOTE

Wanted central's fan for office in the NWT: mixed-up archives: Helene Gagnon home

World

38 COVER STORY
SADDAM DUBYA

Gripping for a strategy in Iraq, Washington has a new ally: with the late dictator's henchmen.

48 BACK TO THE POLES

A fractured Poland heads to the ballot box. Can tolerance trump suspicion and fear?

4 From the Editors 5 Mad Bag
12 Seven Days 20 Week in Pictures

OCTOBER 1-8, 2007



P.24 Public rage: not a riot by election is elsewhere Dion's root problem

THE RACE PAGES

88 Art

A masterpiece of sculpture has forgotten in a field in King Township, Ont. How did it get there, and will it be saved?

70 Stays

Welcome to Kootenai, the environmentally sound mission

72 Film

Sean Penn stays on track as *Into the Wild*

73 TV

Dr. Urbale's Huxman, the menaces: stripped of seats, it's a touching love story

76 Soccer

Introducing the hypo-allergic horse

77 Food

Oaxaca and its beard: a tale of viceroy and bootblack

79 Help

Only prayer can save these Hollywood stars now

80 The End

Tom Weller 1954-2007

giving cover: President Bush has a strange new motivation in Iraq

World (continued)

50 6/11 VIGIL IN IRAQ
Iranian political protesters light candles for U.S. victims
Romania's president gets in trouble for racial slurs—twice.

Business

51 ROUGE INNOVATORS

In a new series, Peter C. Newman examines the fates of some of Canada's most daring young entrepreneurs

52 THE CHEVROLET KING

As the industry skips its last breath, owners fight to restore asbestos' good name

56 GOOGLE'S MOONWALK

Alberta strikes threaten the oil patch: the spread of Google the great, wireless (finally) goes rural

Health

58 CRACKHEADS' RIGHTS

A Toronto drug addict is arguing he can't be evicted because he's disabled

Education

60 ROOMMATE PROFILING

Facebook-shiny parents try to monitor their kids' university residences

61 LEARNING TO LOCK UP

Despite recent tax results, in York U's dorms, students still treat residence like home

Health

62 GENETIC TESTING

Pharmacogenetics: the new vanguard in medicine will help find the right drug for you

Sports

63 HIGH-ROLLERS

McLaren cuts the bar at a new high for professional sports cheaters

Remembrance

64 FILM FESTIVAL BECAP

Brad and Angelina's love confuses a look at life in Lebanon: Baghdad's only heavy metal band: Guy Maddin's Winnipeg and why Ryan: Goshaw gets real

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MACLEANS.ca **Blog Central** **The Briefing** **Scott's Mailbag** **90**



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'Once a witness testifies, he may be cross-examined about all matters in an indictment'

MULRONEY IN HINDSIGHT

WE CANADIANS LOVE to hate our politicians, yet we keep voting them in again and again so we can hate them more. As an Mulroney man no exception, he was well loved and well hated ("Finally, the end of Brian Mulroney," *Comment*, Sept. 24). Yet, in the reflection of history, he may well emerge as one of our more effective and courageous political leaders. He had the courage to seek support with the U.S. and its presidents, both Ronald Reagan and George Bush the elder. He brought in the refiled GST and forced the abuse for doing so, when essentially this action would prove to be a wise and necessary decision that was embraced by the Liberals when they came into power. So was NAFTA. Doing what is right takes courage, never more so than in politics. Mulroney was not perfect. Perfection in politics, as in life, is an illusion. But when the scale of justice is applied through the lens of time, Mulroney's pioneers will far outweigh his negatives. In the news this event, he stands tall.

Signeand Knott, Mississauga, Ont.

I WAS VERY pleased that Peter C. Newman accurately described Brian Mulroney's life as "freeing," and "a story well worth telling and reading." But my cup runneth over when I found myself described as "one of the best editors in the business." Useful people, edit we. I am very proud to be one of the Douglas M. Gibson, Publisher, Douglas-Gibson Books, Macleod © Stewart, Toronto.

ONE THING can be said of Pierre Trudeau that definitely cannot be said of Brian Mulroney: Trudeau had class. *Gerry Edwards, Lady Lake, Fla.*

SELF-INTERESTED LAWYERS

GIVEN THAT the media are among the first to pass along all of the negative public perceptions of ambitious, self-interested lawyers, I find it more for me to assess the quality of students by the members hired by elite law firms ("Canada's best professional schools," *Universities*, Sept. 24). I teach refu go law and have the annual pleasure of teaching some of the best students in the school. They are smart, dedicated, passionate about social justice and would not go near

a Bay Street firm. Find another podcast. Peter Skarlick, Director, The Refugee Forum, Human Rights Research and Education Centre, University of Ottawa, Ottawa.

PRaise for a Great Read

I ADMIRE WITH the voters at the National Magazine Awards ceremony who made the new Maclean's Canada's Magazine of the Year for 2006. The magazine is a great read these days ("What's going on here?" From the editors, Sept. 16). Where else can you find the word "tempting" not once in an issue but twice? (Both Barbara Arnold and Andrew Porter have used the word in their columns in the same issue.) Keep up the good work!

Jayne Watson, Ottawa



YOU'VE AM I AMAZED by and proud of the new editorial approach that seems to have taken hold of Maclean's. Actually reflecting the ruling liberal class, questioning the integrity of the prevailing anti-American, left wing establishment rhetoric, denouncing Quebecers by supporting the war, suggesting that the much reviled Conrad Black just may be innocent of trumped-up charges, being willing to face a barrage of hate mail from lawyers, so-called medical experts and the great Chief Public Health Officer himself. For Canadians, this is revolution. No more do my Maclean's magazines go flying my mailbox almost daily to the recycle bin. It is a renewed joy for me, and I look forward to actually reading them. *Sharon Mueller, Edmonton*

AS A LONG TIME subscriber, I applaud your recent recognition for publishing and editorial excellence. At the same time, I'm disappointed with the self-indulgence you take in your coverage of the Conrad Black and Mack Steyn's geographic rants were embarrassing to subscribe to journalists. Do your readers a favour: stick to authentic reporting on the future. *Peter Jennings, Toronto*

MORE MONEY? NOT US.

ONE PARTICULAR detail concerning the Mark Steyn article warrants a response: "The human drama the jury didn't see." Justice, July 30). The suggestion that Eddie Gordon and I sent Lord Black "a demand for an additional million bucks each" a "day or two before closing arguments" is the jury in Chi caga's complex fiction.

The duty of confidentiality that a lawyer owes to any client prevents the lawyer from affirmatively disclosing details of fee arrangements. However, I can state categorically that no supplementary deposit was required or paid a day or two before the Chicago jury address. More fundamentally, any suggestion that either Eddie Gordon or I were demanding money on the eve of the jury address or were exerting some leverage over the client is not only inaccurate, it displays a lack of appreciation of the legal ethics involved.

A lawyer who contemplates a trial is ethically obliged to complete that trial, whether or not he or she has exhausted any retention deposits. Not only was no such leverage exercised in this case, a lawyer has no leverage to extort if a retainer deposit is advanced before the trial ends.

Mr. Steyn, as a journalist, is of course entitled to his opinion as to whether it would have helped or hurt the defense to call Lord Black a witness. After all, many often with less knowledge of the evidence in trial have rendered their opinions on that subject. However, there are three points of law that are relevant to such a debate, which are not referenced in his article.

First, more would not be deduced to justify if they take the position that the prosecution has not made out a case against them. There is a danger in answering a case that has not been made out. Lord Black, of course, was not the only accused who declined to testify.



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PORSCHE



'Williams seems to govern by what he actually thinks is the right thing to do rather than just coldly calculating what might win him a majority government'

Harger either knows, or should have known, who was behind the police repression. Dave Colas, President, Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada (CEP)

A POLITICIAN'S PRINCIPLES

JUST READ Colin Campbell's piece on New foundland and Labrador Premier Danny Williams and his handling of the oil companies ("How to win, or a fight with Big Oil," *Business Week*, Sept. 30). When does he want to go federal? We need more leaders who think of their citizens rather than catering to big business. Leaders like him would probably stop the export of raw logs and pulp from our province, neither of which seems to bother our Liberal government or here in B.C.

Gavin Lee, Langford, B.C.



NOT WHAT THEY SEEM: Police officers at the Mossbello summit 'jeopardized safety'

GIERGE PRICE ON Danny Williams: He is a jingoistic conservative who seems to govern by what he thinks is the right thing to do. I believe St. John's when Williams refused to give us a health care seven weeks by saying that the province could not afford demands for higher wages. Eventually, the union backed down.

Dr. Bob Miller, Halifax

PREMIER WILLIAMS is making political hay out of his new venture in the oil business. He has spent \$110 million to buy a share of the pie at a yet unknown oil revenues. But being an owner, this means he will also have a share in the case of exploration, recovery, transportation and refining, which probably will be between US\$10 to US\$100 per barrel. I have a hunch Big Oil is holding its belly with laughter. Maybe Williams should do some research on how other small countries have become rich in the oil game. Brazil's situation is a prime example. That government's stake in Royal Dutch/Shell's venture consists of royalties, taxes and 50 per cent dividends for a total of 50 per cent of sales revenue less cost. In the year 2000 it took US\$1.38 billion when Shell's share was home with US\$155 million. And it did not have to pay \$100 million to play with the big boys.

Michael Wondolowski, Perth, Ont.

WHAT'S GROWING IN CUBA

WE CAN PROMISE to see the article by Jennifer Cadden (King on Cuba's remarkable success

in organic agriculture) ("Why don't we have gardens like this?" *Third Space*, Sept. 15). Necessity is said to be the mother of invention and Cubans have responded to the economic constraints of the '90s with determination and innovation in many fields. Starting from the loss of its major trading partner with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and struggling to cope with the effects of the decades-long U.S. economic blockade, Cubans provide its people with free health care and education, decent housing and adequate nutrition. Cuba is a poor country, but, in my five trips there, I have never seen a child suffering from a person living on the street or communities without a doctor.

Erwin Gorman, Seelys Bay, Ont.

AS A CUBAN who witnessed for 10 years food shortages and the other economic calamities that Communism has brought upon the island, it was appalling to read your article presenting the Cuban agricultural system as a model of sustainability. The concept of sustainability involves not only generating resources for the future generations, but meeting the needs of the present. The waste of this article seems to ignore the daily struggles that Cubans face to bring some food to their tables. Cuban green farms are too land experiments that partly benefit us using efficient minority while most of the population suffers longer due to a long lasting crisis in the agricultural system.

Royce' Cruz-Aguado, River Lake, University of British Columbia, Vancouver

Correction: Due to a data input error in the Maclean's news archive, the Sept. 24 issue, an incorrect per capita Supreme Court clerkship figure was said for the University of Ontario's common law program. Ontario was originally reported as being at a three-way tie for fourth place in the overall ranking, along with Dalhousie University and Queen's. However, using the correct Supreme Court clerkship figure breaks the tie, leaving Ontario as fourth place, with Queen's and Dalhousie now placing fifth and sixth respectively. For complete and updated results, please visit www.macleans.ca/newsroom and click "Rankings."

IN PASSING

Colin MacLellan, 36, rally car driver. With his flashy style, he won 25 contests during his 17-year World Rally Championship career and participated in the Dakar rally, the Le Mans 24-hour, and the Race of Champions. He died in a helicopter crash.

Robert MacMillan, 90, physician. He established the world's first coronary intensive care unit at Toronto General Hospital. In groundbreaking period of using heart monitoring equipment on patients who'd suffered heart attacks dramatically reduced mortality rates and was adopted around the world. He was the father of historian and author Margaret MacMillan.



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7 DAYS

A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF ORENTHAL JAMES SIMPSON

The former football star's much-anticipated book—*Off the Ball*, a "fictional" account of how he might have inspired his wife and how he died—has come out this Tuesday morning. That same night, police were called to a Las Vegas hotel after O.J. and a group of pals allegedly broke into a suite and stole several pieces of sports memorabilia and gear. The police told CNN the goods belonged to him, but authorities weren't arrested. They charged him with robbery and tossed him in jail.

Good news

It stinks in here

Times and New Democrats can count all they like about their respective win/loss records: federal by-elections. The real credit goes to the anonymous man who showed up to a polling station in Ontario with a massive pumpkin on his head. It was a fitting mask—both colourful and unseasonably colourful—of the controversy over whether Muslim women should be allowed to vote while wearing veils. Whether the fellow man in his gay in good spirit doesn't much matter. "Voting" was a tongue-in-cheek of vague election law and veiled rhetoric needed to cover their political pot. Nothing says "that whole debate was stupid" quite like having a giant, orange giant where your head is supposed to be.

Pretty in pink

After a Grade 8 student in Nova Scotia's Central Kings Rural High School was accused and called a homosexual for wearing a pink shirt to school, his mom (David Shepherd and Tanya Price) decided to push back at the teen age bullies. Rather than using fists, they bought 75 mar's pink tank tops and hit the Internet to launch a wear pink campaign. Cause last Friday, half the 100-member student body was dressed in pink. Really for them.

The skinny

A new report prepared by the organizers of London Fashion Week is demanding that children under the age of 16 be banned from the runway. The report also recommends that every model be screened for eating disorders, such as anorexia and bulimia, not just, nor only. Other countries have already taken steps to ban the modeling industry, which

Bad news

Faint hope

Martin Luther Agwai, a Nigerian general, has been assigned to stop the slaughter in Darfur, a conflict that has killed 300,000 over the past four years and forced more than 2.5 million from their homes. His "experimental" peacekeeping force of 2,000 soldiers and 1,000 police—a hybrid UN/African Union initiative—has no clear mandate, and few resources. Their first challenge will be establishing bases in an area plagued with no airport, no roads, and no water.

Gut bomb

It's dangerous enough being a soldier, so why is the Canadian Forces turning over to civilians to safety, surgery, fat-burner fast food franchises like Tim Hortons and Pizza Place? Last year, 23 per cent of our troops were considered obese, and the number is growing. Time to hit the salad bar, soldier!

High on McGill

McGill University professors are on the market for cocaine—and lots of it. The Canadian Institutes of Health Research has awarded the Montreal university \$600,000 to continue studying the effects of cocaine addiction. Their plan? Pay a dozen people minimum wage to snort the snore under "tightly controlled" conditions. The problem-solving suggestion that their research is unethical. The results, they say, will show which parts of the brain crave the highly addictive drug, and how best to tackle that craving. Seems reasonable. Of course, one could make the same argument for studying needles.

Failure to launch

Statistics Canada has confirmed the obvious: kids these days take a lot longer to grow up. Compared to 10 years ago, people are taking much longer to "make boy/girl transitions to adulthood." They leave school later, live at home longer, get a job later, and postpone marriage and childbearing for as long as they can. In 2006, 43.1 per cent of adults aged 20 to 29 either never left their parents' house, or moved back after when they were away from the nest. And in a growing number of these cases, the kids are bringing their own spouses home with them. Advice to parents: stop cooking with these. ■

FACE OF THE WEEK



PRIME SUSPECT: Portuguese police believe Korte McCrory knows what happened to her missing four-year-old daughter, Madeline.

For Barry Bonds's second breaking home run ball, is letting the people decide when to do with the dubious honour. His website, *www.bonds.com*, gives fans the chance to vote for one of three options: 1) Donate the ball to the Hall of Fame; 2) Give it to a charity; 3) Break the ball with a big red mallet, then donate it to Cooperstown. 10 Put it in a rocket ship and launch it into outer space. Tough choice, indeed. But we suggest a fourth option: put the ball in a drawer and forget the whole thing ever happened.



Eine dünne, böse Angst
Ohne Kraft trägt er



The Japanese car the Germans wish they'd made.

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IGNATIEFF GETS CAULIFLOWER EAR

Former Liberal Quebec environment minister turned NDP candidate Thomas Mulcair says Jack Layton spent a mchule in the Montreal riding of Outremont before this week's by-election, "he should be eligible to vote." Meanwhile, by the way, end, the Liberal's new campaign: Dion's hand picked candidate Joseph Gordon was in trouble. Justin Trudeau was brought in on the Friday before the vote along with Ken Dryden. When the NDP candidate's wife, Catherine Mulcair, a psychologist who specializes in palliative care, saw a photo of the tall Liberal man sporting the same Casuals, she remarked that Coulson looked like Mike Me Trudeau, poured the purest on Friday with Dion, approaching a Jewish man who, even though it was the High Holidays when Jews are supposed to forgive people, could not forgive Coulson for calling for the world to work with the terrorist group Hamas. Trudeau made a quick press election out because he had to be in New York for a phone shoot to accompany an upcoming article in Oprah Winfrey's magazine. The article on a group called Gen II, the members of which are descendants of global leaders had access

MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON THE OUTREMONT 'MINI ME' AND JUSTIN'S BRUSH WITH OPRAH

to promoting peace through non-violence. Bender Trudeau, Gen II members include Kerry Kennedy, Arun Gandhi and Talmi Rubin.

In honour of the by-election, Dion's wife, Justine Krieger, brought out the red with a new picker from the hip La Maison Simon in Quebec City and a Hermès scarf given to her on her 50th birthday by the late senator Shirley Malloy.

Both Mulcair's and Bloc candidate Jean-Paul Gauthier's campaign signs included a photo of the candidate with his respective leader. Coulson appeared alone on his, with no mention of Dion. Having the leader's name in candidates' signs is so Paul Martin, said one Liberal, who confirmed that in the next general election there will be no "Team Dion" on signs because candidates should speak for themselves. But the Coulson camp did have separate Dion signs that quoted Green party leader Elizabeth May from an April 25, 2007, Canadian Press article: "I see in Mr Dion a true leader for this country." No word on how François Pilon, the Green party candidate for Outremont, felt about that. Meanwhile, the NDP pulled out their media-thirst campaign to ensure capturing the

diversity in the riding. The fifth page language flyer included a photo of Mulcair with prominent community leaders who supported the NDP. Toronto NDP MP Olivia Chow worked the phones tirelessly, calling Chinese residents and a posting to them in Mandarin Cantonese. In between calls she was also ordering flowers for the wedding of Layton's daughter, Sarah Layton, on Sept. 22, for which she plans to make all the floral centerpieces herself.

On election day in Coulson's HQ, Michael Ignatieff was hitting the phones so hard he complained he had cauliflower ear. Ontario MP Omar Alghabra was blowing up those rhinoceros foot-and-a-half long Liberal thunder sticks. Quebec MP Denis Cordoneau joined on the blaring because of the potential embarrassing photo op. When it became clear that the NDP had slaughtered the Liberals, Gen II's gathered on stage in a show of solidarity (no surprise, as we wondered why they didn't hold their caucus meeting in Montreal). Midway through Dion's speech to the assembly, the TV screens on either side of the stage went live to a jubilant shot of Layton and Mulcair. Liberal MP Brian Gosier



LADY IN RED Janene Krieger

told Capital Daily the NDP got the Bloc vote and noted that Mulcair used to be a Liberal. He admitted that when he was leading on doors in Outremont on election day people told him the NDP had been by five times throughout the campaign and twice already that day.

NDP officials say Mulcair will not get a first-time seat in the House of Commons. The party has a pending order based on seniority, but being a former government cabinet minister moves you up the list. He will likely get a seat when Layton moves to speak. The NDP's hopes to roll out other star candidates soon, but declined to confirm names—though Capital Daily did spot Bruno Stagnaro, a prominent Cree spokesperson, at Mulcair's victory bash. Aside from losing a traditional Liberal riding, Dion must now face a new NDP MP with whom he had a huge public and personal spat when he was the federal environment minister and Mulcair was his provincial counterpart. As well, Mulcair is now Justin Trudeau's new MP.

IGNATIEFF AND DION: Not a happy day for the Liberals, except new Outremont MP Thomas Mulcair



ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa cauldrons or to report a Mulcair Mulcair, visit www.mca.ca/mulcair or mca.ca/mulcair



NAUTICA

The day Mulroney told me to go f@!# myself



SCOTT
FESCHUK
sifts, sweats and

On a cold Friday afternoon in October 2005, I left my given block on Parliament Hill, got into my car and drove to Montreal for the sole purpose of having Martin Brian Mulroney, the 10th prime minister of Canada, sweeten the



Let me air it uncensored, I said. It won't be the first time people have heard you cuss.

would still work—but I was disappointed.

On that October afternoon, Mulroney walked onto the boardroom with a stiff grin but full of energy. He saluted in a single take, though he graciously agreed to do two more. "Wow," I remember thinking to myself. "I'm sitting here listening to Brian Mulroney say 'go f@!k yourself.' This is an honour that's been experienced by only a few million Canadians and Karlheinz Schreiber."

As Mulroney got up to leave, I decided to give it one more shot. Let me air it uncensored, I said. "It won't be the first time people have heard you cuss."

Mulroney stopped and smiled. I thought he was about to change his mind. Then he started walking and said, "They'll make a drink about it. It'll be like change it. There was no mistake who they were—the press corps." The scene of Mulroney's remarks—and the forthcoming book from Jan Christie—has featured an outburst of nostalgia in the

nation's capital. *Those were the days! Days when leaders were bold and witty! Not like the dullards we have now!* But the commentators who sound the lament are often all too quick to punish those who dare to quit.

Mulroney understood the crowd-pleasing appeal of a dagger, the way a clever line can latch on and live forever while belittling the state power straight through.

But today's politicians tend to equate humour with rudeness and personality as a shortcoming—something that needs to be couched rather than showcased. I could tell you that Stephen Harper has a sense of humour—because I've actually witnessed it—but you'd have to take my word for it. It's not allowed out of public.

I CAME. I SLEPT. I CONQUERED.



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ON THE WEB: For Scott Feschuk's take on the news of the day, visit his blog www.marknews.ca/feschuk

What's best for Ontario? Newsflash: who cares?



ANDREW POTTER

In early 2001, newly installed Quebec culture minister Diane Lévesque felt moved to unburden herself: "Quebec has no culture," she pronounced. As an provoked interprovincial broadside, it was pretty magnificent stuff, and from the dogmatic reaches of the *Artses*—the star chamber of the Ontario cultureocracy—a great hurumph was heard. But at the same time, a quiet storm undulated down Highway 401 from Cornwall to Windsor, a shiver that was period. You know she's right.

Someday, then, let's just admit it: Ontario has no culture. And the reason it has no culture is that Ontario does not really care.

All the evidence you need of the non-existence of Ontario can be found by spending a few days following the contrived line from an election that is currently eating voters' hearts from Jesus Lockout to the *Wesley* shopdown your street in Ottawa. Happen and to-morrow the day when the *Wesley* would throw a war and no one would show up to fight. McGuinty, Gray and Hamilton are led up the province on a four-week ending nightmare of an election where no one needs show up to think. Who needs a bonus when the crown—indeed, the only—potential serious contender is met whether we should continue the long-standing practice of funding some religious schools with public money, or start funding a few more religious schools with public money. Why is there so little at stake? Perhaps it is because well, because there's very little at stake.

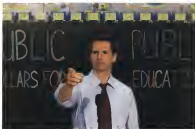
Ontarians take a great deal of pride in the fact that poll after poll indicates they are the "most Conservative" in that they are the only ones who consistently place country school of province or region where it exists in making their political opinions. Ontario's provincial self-understanding is as the layperson's province in the grand arch of Confederation. After

all, Ontario is essentially an imperial power emerging out of the western half of the old colonial empire of the St. Lawrence, it governs the manufacturing heartland and financial centre of a political empire that has pushed clear across the Prairies to the Pacific while maintaining a handful of client states in the East. Ontario is the province that has always been willing to foot the bill, do what was necessary to keep Quebec happy, and generally sacrifice its own interests in the name of the greater national good.

The source of Ontario's identity crisis these days is that it is an imperial centre that has lost its empire. Alberta and B.C. are Canada's new economic powers, while Quebec is leading the way in demanding ever greater pro-

tection of the Great Lakes basin, who some into the dark recesses of their souls and see nothing but darkness.

Our closest cousins in this regard are the English. To a considerably greater degree, they are the depressed casualties of a vanishing empire. Even after the loss of the overseas colonies, the English could flatter themselves with the notion that at least Britain belonged to them. Whereas, after all, it is London, that Westminster is no longer so important, thanks to devolution, and the English now find themselves ruled by a Scot and without a parliament to call their own. In this, Ontarians can be thankful at least we have Queen's Park, even if most of us do our best to ignore what goes on there.



Ontario's manufacturing sector's in peril, its role as economic power usurped by the West

It's all show money, egged on by places like Newfoundland and Labrador and enabled by a compliant government in Ottawa. Meanwhile, as manufacturing sector is in serious trouble, its infrastructure is falling, its status lousy, and it has been years since Ontario has assumed any sort of leadership role in the country. Oh, and the CN Tower now is just another pointless edifice. Name any trace of major public policy—taxation, health care, education, environmental reform, constitutional activism—and Ontario looks to other provinces for cues on what to do.

Small wonder that the place is having odd social issues. If it isn't coming the good ship Canada, who does it come to be from Ontario? What is the place even for?

You do not have to spend too much time travelling around the Dominion to realize that the people in the rest of the country know who they are. It is only the people of Ontario, and especially the ones narrowed

Still, for both England and Ontario, the answer to the problem is the same. England needs to get over Britain, get a legislature of its own, and find its own place in the broader European context. Ontario needs to get over Canada. That doesn't mean secession, or even a Quebec-style push for greater autonomy from Ottawa. It just means the people of Ontario have to stop identifying their interests with those of the entire country.

Ontario will never have much in the way of Culture, at least not in the highbrow Gallic sense that Diane Lévesque conjures it. The people here are far too fond of doughnuts and Classic Rock. But so what? The only real culture that matters is a serious political culture, and the only way to get that, my dear fellow Ontarians, is to first start acting as though we care. ■

ON THE WEB: For more, Andrew Potter writes for www.macleans.ca/andrepotter100

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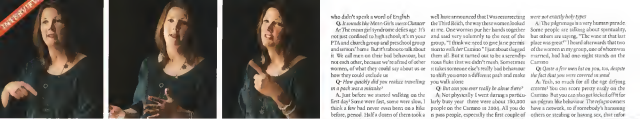
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WEEK IN PICTURES

FIELD OF DREAMS

Baseball commissioner Bud Selig recently met for the first time with local and state officials to help develop a new stadium for the Florida Marlins, one with a retractable roof. On Sept. 10, 375 people saw the Marlins beat the Washington Nationals at Dolphin Stadium. With attendance like that, they don't need a retractable roof. An umbrella would do.



These alpha chicks started fluffing their feathers. The backbiting morphed into "Lord of the Flies" on estrogen.

JANE CHRISTMAS TALKS TO KATE FILLION ABOUT HER LONELY 800-KILOMETRE CAMINO PILGRIMAGE WITH 14 OTHER MIDDLE-AGED WOMEN

Q How can I look like the Virgin Mary? The Virgin (Christina Ricci), in *Crucifixion* (Riviera), is about taking the Camino de Santiago de Compostela in northern Spain to mark your 40th birthday. Just a month-long pilgrim journey sounds like the life of a nun. I mean, that's a lot of walking. What was the appeal?

A: The sense of freedom, the chance to roam, unfettered, for 500 kilometers. I'm a single parent, one of my kids was going through a difficult teenage time and couldn't wait to get away from them. I think they were wondering why their mother had to go away for a month and walk across Spain when everybody else's mother was home taking cookies and hosting a supper. But I was wondering whether motherhood has a shelf life, and my best before date had passed. There was also the sense of rebellion. There's sort of a social perspective of Christians these days, and this was in your face. "Hi, I'm going on a religious pilgrimage, you think that's something wrong with that?" I find it difficult to express my faith, and this was a way to do it.

Q What's the religious significance of the Camino?

A: It was set up after the demise of Jesus, one of the Apostles of Christ, were found around 866 A.D. A shrine sprung up and he was adopted as the patron saint of Spain, and this whole marathon was put in place to celebrate Jesus' personality. They literally translated

him into Spanish's Midway House.

Q What does a pilgrim look like today compared to one in medieval times?

A: I think the reason that prompt people to go on a pilgrimage aren't much different. It's to go and search your soul, seek an indulgence, pay homage to a religious personage, score for love, honour the love of a loved one. And in the old days, it was the only way to get out of debt. In medieval times it was as close to a holiday as anyone was going to get. Today, I think it's the same sort of thing. It's just that Mountain Equipment Co-op has supplied the gear.

Q You weren't exactly equipped when you left Canada. You set off with a whole crew of women. Why did you think you could make it? Man, you're such a risk taker.

A: It was supposed to be a solo journey but I ended up leading a group of 14 other middle-aged women who I heard what I was doing and wanted to walk the Camino also. One or two knew each other, but for the most part we were strangers. I'm as naive as most people, I did think there would be some camaraderie and we'd have a lot of laughs and stories along the way, kind of a modern version of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*. Instead, it became this walking psychology experiment. We always think we're leaving things behind when we travel, but in fact we take this personal emotional and financial baggage with us.

When we strip away the routines and relationships and chores and commute, this pil-

grimage stuff comes up to the surface and starts to explode, and we start to discover our true selves. In our group, there were those who needed to dump, there were those who were publicly corrected because they didn't fit into the group. The group started splitting into cliques, and there was all this subtle backbiting that erupted into *Lord of the Flies* on estrogen.

Q But what about women's reputation for possessing an innate ability to relate to others, empathize and communicate?

A: It's a huge misconception. We're trained to believe we're inclusive and bridg-building, but particularly in group situations, that just doesn't happen. "Leading" normally codes for "the need to know" or women's social skills. You can make her feel better. That sort of knowledge is power for women, and they use it to exclude others. Another Canadian, who wasn't in our group originally but had got separated from her own group, was properly chastised by some of the women in our group. They ridiculed her and refused to let her walk with them, though she was just like them, very accomplished, intelligent, educated. They'd do things like lead her out to get groceries, and then when she came back, say, "Oh, we don't want any of your stuff, we've got our own." Later she told me they did things like do so repeatedly that she finally broke down and cried, and the people who came to console her were these Spanish women

who didn't speak a word of English.

Q It sounds like *Mean Girls* was Chaucer. At the time you're in your 40s, it's your PTAs and church group and preschool group and union's hunk. That's not too far off. We call me on their bad behavior, but not each other, because we're afraid of other women, of what they could say about us or how they could exclude us.

Q How quickly did your realize traveling is a pack animal's life?

A: Just before we started walking on the first day. Some were fast, some were slow, I think a few had never even been on a bike before, period. Half a dozen of them took a cab instead of walking on that first morning, so that didn't bode well.

Q What were they thinking, leading off for a trek through the Pyrenees with no training?

A: I think that at a certain age, women are tested by a desire to do something really different, to challenge themselves. Our women met the first time alone at a restaurant, each less walked across Spain.

Everybody was out of their element, but almost everyone ended up walking at least three quarters of the way. At one point, all of us took a bus or cab, nobody walked every step of the Camino, but I don't think that was the point, either.

Q Eight or nine days into the trip you got separated from your group and were stuck there again on the Camino. Was there that if you can't afford to be alone?

A: Absolutely not. I'm an apologetic woman, and I did feel a sense of responsibility for them. Until we got to Barcelona, actually, this gorgeous medieval town where the sun was shining and it was finally leaving rain and thinking, "This is beautiful. I love the Camino!" Then a member of the group appeared and said, "Everybody was a morning, right now?" So everyone gathered around a table at the restaurant, we order a page of wine, and these alpha chicks start fluffing their feathers. One woman started off by saying "How stupid!" it all is, "We need to band with ourselves," and then told us to go around the table and say what our goals were. It suddenly turned into this conversation riddled with bitching, and some of them decided that there was no way we were going to finish the Camino in the time allocated and we should all end up going. When it was my turn, I said my goal was to get to Santiago de Compostela, that had been the plan for the last year, and we had aspirations unless we wasted it now! getting. I might as

well have announced that I was connecting the Third Reich, the way these women looked at me. One woman put her hands together and said very solemnly to the rest of the group, "I think we need to give Jane permission to walk her Camino." I just about clapped them off. But it turned out to be a scrubby-nothing. I think that we didn't finish. Sometimes it takes someone else's really bad behavior to shift you onto a different path and make you walk alone.

Q But you say you really fit alone time?

A: Not physically. I've been damaged particularly busy year. There were about 180,000 people on the Camino in 2004. All you do in your people, especially the first couple of days, when you have this competing North American spirit and you think, "I've got to pass this person up there. And the next day!" It takes a few days before you realize you don't have to beat the best person. You develop a real sense of empathy because you see all these pilgrims lost in their own little worlds of worry and concern and sadness, and you hear their stories and think, "My problems are nothing." Still, there is real competition to go into the refuge, which are basically pilgrim hotels that cost three or four euros a night. If you don't get there in time, they have no beds left and you have to wait another five or 10 kilometers to the next one. The quality varies but most are pretty well. You're checked by now in a room crammed with back beds, men and women share all the facilities, there's no privacy whatsoever. It's a luxury thing, I'd go to get out and relaxation and would up pretty quickly exhausted but unable to sleep because of the snoring strangers in my room. After a while, I really wanted to quit the Camino. I really missed the comforts of home but especially my kids. I would've welcomed a screaming little girl with a terrapin.

Q Well, what a pilgrimage supposed to be difficult?

A: It is. The interesting thing about the Camino, for all its spirituality and rigor, is that its message is largely due to Western influence. People are so accustomed, they're overhauled with work and family and social, and add a piece to get back to life in its own plant form, to do something a month away with through road and rain with your pen around as a backpack.

Q We could do that anywhere. Why go overseas?

A: The reason that three blocks from my house, and that's Rio de Janeiro, but there aren't refuges. It's not as easy to handle pilgrim stuff. You can walk from village to village in Europe, but North America isn't set up that way.

Q A lot of the pilgrims you encountered

were not strictly bi-type.

A: The pilgrimage is a very human parade. Some people are talking about spirituality, but others are saying, "The worst of that last place was great." I heard all kinds that two of the women in my group, one of whom was married, had had one-night stands on the Camino.

Q Quite a few men sat on you, too, despite the fact that you were covered in mud.

A: Yeah, so much for all the age-diffing ceremony! You can score pretty easily on the Camino. But you can also get kicked off for un-pilgrim-like behaviour.



'You can score pretty easily on the Camino. You can also get kicked off it for un-pilgrim-like behaviour.'

entered a period along and the person isn't admitted to the other refuges.

Q Why did the bad trip to the good trip?

A: We're so much in a holiday, but you must your flight or lose your luggage or get mugged, and those are the things you remember. The thing is, when we encounter problems on holiday, that's when we're being by our own. You don't have the same sort of can restlessness you do at home, and I think how we manage those problems really is the trip. I think people see the humour and humor of a misadventure.

Q So would you ever go on holiday with a group of women again?

A: No! No way. **W**

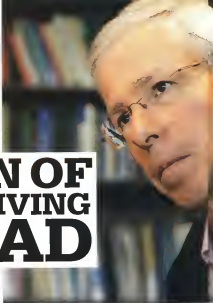
The Liberal leader is fighting against new worries that he's not up to the job

BY JOHN GEDDES

DION OF THE LIVING DEAD

After nearly a tripartite coronation as Liberal leader, losing three Quebec by-elections that sent him from political stardom into his first leadership crisis. But who, exactly, is his real enemy? The obvious answer might seem to be Prime Minister Stephen Harper, whose Tories won one on Monday, snatching the Roberval seat Jean sent from the Bloc Québécois. Or there's still the Bloc themselves, Dion's old separatist antagonists, who cling to Stump Hynes-like logic, a shelter of the direct seats up for grabs. The pace by-election logic, though, was all about Dion's positive form inside the Liberal party, shadowy figures supposedly loyal to his former leadership rival, Michael Ignatieff, compared up by bloggers and internet sources.

As for Dion, however, he pointed to a very different opponent: Stéphane Dion, or at least an ersatz version of the man. Two days before Monday's victory, unscathed by election setback, he ran extensive interviews with *Maclean's* in his Montreal riding office. Dion



complained that he's still struggling against a caricature of himself, a cowardly, porky politician who doesn't really connect with people. "I have to fight with Stéphane Dion who doesn't exist," he said. "I've never been that close, distant person." Worse, the music Dion is a close cousin of the unknown Dion, no leader at all, as portrayed in Conservative TV advertisements early this year—ads which he ruefully admitted, "for many people became true."

Bachdich's recent to blurring Tony attacks for his next problem. How could he? His party lost Montreal's Outremont seat, for only the second time since 1995, to a star NDP candidate. Although the other two seats were never within reach for the Liberals, his confidence in both faded as cracks in the

coat of the popular vote, a periodically dimming showing. In typically earnest fashion, Dion issued a vow to rebuild Liberal support through an "emotive dialogue" with Quebecers. (Is there any other lead for this guy?) In the state room, he spoke candidly of other elements of his efforts to grow as a leader, from working to improve his English, to employing a high-level "fixer" to quell any signs of unrest in his party, to develop new policies he finds frustrating to have to back down in anticipation of an eventual national election.

If the challenges range dangerously from image to organization to platform, Dion's immediate question has to be his own inside his own party. "We as a nation outside of the riding are concerned, they will not be pay

ing attention to the by-elections," said political Nick Nasson, president of the Ottawa firm S&S Research. "Ben doesn't have legs, except anomalously in the Liberal party. That's the big risk. He has to look at it from an electoral party management perspective."

In fact, it would be odd if he didn't look at it that way, after everybody else was. The state-of-war of the by-election campaign was fought under a fog of rumors about backers of Ignatieff, Dion's deputy leader in the House, covertly undermining him. That Ignatieff himself was hanging on doors for Jocelyn Caravan, Dion's hand-picked candidate in Outremont, didn't seem to matter to some Liberals who are paranoid about a replay of the split between the Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin camps, that for so long plagued their party. Neither did the fact that Dion's top Quebec lieutenant, MP Marcel Proulx, is a former Ignatieff backer.

Beyond such intonations, senior Liberals did point to more concrete reasons why speculation about internal squabbling will be hard to stamp out. One major factor is that not just Ignatieff, but all the rest of last year's losing leadership contenders, too, are working to pay off campaign debts. That means NDP and party organizations who were level up behind them are still raising and conducting calling regularly to organize fundraising. "It's in touch with people from across the country because we're organizing events to pay off debt," said Ben Dorey, Ignatieff's Toronto-based former campaign director. "The conversations are all about that."

Every got-together of that sort is a potential trigger for gossip about anti-Dion plot lines, and no doubt there's plenty of actual gossip about the performance of a leader still in the polls. Another former Ignatieff backer, considerably less senior than Dorey, said that Ignatieff, Bob Rae and Gerard Kennedy all maintain networks that could be reactivated quickly—if Dion loses an election, but that's a momentary "if." No credible Liberal, even when offered the chance to comment anonymously, suggested that a serious deep Dion offensive is could coalesce before the next federal vote.

This doesn't mean Dion won't have to contend with a handful. Even before the by-elections broke, he faced growing doubts that not enough members of his former leadership didn't have been given any place in the new Liberal machine. In Quebec, where Harper's win in Roberval heightens fear that the Tories could camp up a much bigger factor in the province, many Liberals now say Dion needs to look at everything. "I think we have to do down with the leader and discuss what happened, what went wrong," said MP Pablo Rodriguez, who chaired Ignatieff's

leadership bid in Quebec. "We have to reconnect with the francophone vote."

For Rodriguez stressed that he has no problem for talk of no vote against Dion, and he dismissed the former Ignatieff support failed to turn out to work hard for Dion in Outremont. "It's frustrating," he said, "when you show yourself and still people decide to say things like that."

Dion didn't look rattled by being raised. Remarkably, he judged the night's victory for federalists over separatists, weighing the all-units of the NDP in Outremont and the Tories in Roberval against the Bloc holding, as expected, only the strongly conservative riding of St-Hyacinthe-Bagot. In the meantime, he pointed out that by-election losses don't often translate into general election disaster. Here, Lévesque famously lost a swing of by-election in Quebec province before going on to win a provincial election. Soon after Chénier won the Liberal leadership in 1996, he faced slipping when the Bloc won a by-election that sent its first MP, Gilles Duceppe, to Ottawa. But Lévesque and Chénier already boasted long track records in successful campaigns when they absorbed their by-election losses. Then remains a relatively unknown quantity on the campaign trail.



EVEN TROUBLE might be to carry the vote in Outremont.

even first to good advantage, illustrating to some politicians who might have divided around him without taking a paragraph or two to his pitch for Québec. He had looked, though, taking a compliment about his improved skills. "Yes, I may be getting better at stepping a person on the street, it's an art," he said. "But I was never this cold



Dion had several months to get his own crew in place before the by-elections and they still didn't get the job done

and doesn't pretend this course hasn't been described."

If Dion has picked up his game, the payoff likely won't come until the voting public starts paying close, daily attention during a national election race. And it will depend on whether the style that looked more effective at Dion's encounters in Outremont translates on to television.

Until then, he faces the typical frustrations of an Opposition leader: the need to frequently appear before the media to set the agenda. Yet even strategists advise him to stay cool, and lay the organizational and policy groundwork for the big vote to come. "It could depend 10 times as much energy trying to get the media to notice," said one top Liberal organizer, "and get one percent more votes."

Eddie Goldenberg, Christie's former long-term aide, suggests Dion stick to the

business, getting his office running smoothly, putting in place a campaign team, and developing a platform. "It's going to go through a difficult period," he said. "It's never easy to be a leader of the Opposition."

The experience, however, is hardly a given: one Goldenberg pointed out what could be the key difference between Christien's stint in Opposition and what Dion is going through. Christien benefited from the weakness of the Canadian economy in the early 1990s, which made voters eager for a change after a decade of Tory rule, while Dion needs to find a way to persuade voters that Harper

Few who have watched Dion at close quarters doubt he possesses the drive to overcome whatever difficulties are holding him back. "He's like a bulldog," says Goldenberg. "Very determined, very hands on, very principled." It's for all the advisers he acquired during his run in Christien's cabinet, and the new ranks of staffers who grew devoted to him during his leadership run, Dion doesn't take it for granted that Liberals will instinctively follow his lead. Asked about the role of Herb Marcillo, a veteran Liberal organizer he has installed in his office as a sort of untold senior advisor, Dion smiled and said, "The difficult members are for others, the impossible ones are for Herb."

Such as? "Somebody has a big problem with something we want to say," Dion said. "And this person may have an acquaintance with the Liberal network. It will hurt us. Herb will go and speak to this person and say, 'Look to the leader before you do anything.' He's a super-fan, a good English."

He's at ease talking about his dialect coach. 'SHE IS WATCHING ME ON TV, and she's phoning me after, listing my mistakes.'



GLAD-HANDING IN GUTTERMONT: NOT so obvious after all

Perhaps not quite, but close enough. A Dion who employs a super-fan, who shouts himself hoarse as campaign rallies, who won't quite get out of the way of potential voters who try to shake him on a busy street—that isn't the same old-fashioned sunny Canadian man everyone is now in charge of the Liberal franchise.

Not the world's gay, the one who stuffs his backpack with briefing papers and redlines pumping out policy (but nobody else on the federal scene, hasn't disappeared). Dion spent

much of the summer quietly meeting with small groups, usually a dozen to 30 participants, on issues from water policy to environment to exporting. A series of higher-profile policy round tables, the first held earlier this month in Montreal on economic issues, are slated for the next few months.

It's his natural element, which is a good thing, since crafting a compelling message is arguably his single most important job now. Harper is set to launch a new parliamentary session with a Throne speech on Oct. 16, and Liberals will be forced to react to a new Tory agenda. Will they have enough big ideas of their own to seem like a true government-in-waiting? Canadians might have to wait to find out. Dion has adopted the approach that served Harper so well leading into the last election, hold back most of his policy, even against demands that he show his cards until the very end.

For Dion, who has always prided himself on his precise, fully fleshed-out responses to the issues of the day, this tactic of reserving ammunition is unusual. "It's a bit frustrating for me. I have a lot more ideas. I have a team of policy people, many of them part of the caucus, and we would be so pleased to get out with more ideas," he said. "But we want to keep many of them for an election that may come. If we put out everything in advance, it will be difficult to come with surprises during the campaign."

It is clear about the demand that Harper freely commit to pulling Canadian troops out of combat in Afghanistan when the current commitment runs out in February 2009. As well, Dion demands that the government accept what is essentially the opposition parties' combined policy on climate change, something the Conservatives will surely reject. He lists economic policy and a plan to combat poverty as his other top campaign priorities.

The NDP and Bloc have their own sets of demands. When, then, will Harper find the opposition votes he needs to approve his Throne Speech and keep his majority alive? One possibility is that he might try to win Bloc backing by pushing through with his promise to somehow limit the federal spending power in areas of provincial jurisdiction. After all, the Bloc has typically supported Harper before on crucial votes, including both of his government's budgets.

Dion is at his most passionate on the spending powers issue. This is turf on which he is

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PHOTOGRAPH BY JIM BARNETT

should be changed quickly even through the economy, so far, remains solid.

Some would draw a parallel between Christien and Dion when it comes to their heavily accented English. Indeed, like Christien, Dion fans his with English-speaking audiences when he's talking up Canada and running down separatism. On every other subject, especially for a politician much more prone to detailed argument than Christien, Dion's lapses into incoherent grammar and encephalitis seem to remain a problem.

He has, at times, bristled at that criticism. These days, he seems more at ease about having to work with a dialect coach about two hours a week. She is a presence in his life as leader. "She's watching me on TV, and she's phoning me after, listing my mistakes," he says, dropping his voice almost to Murmure-Bleu depths to demonstrate. "It means that the way I speak I go up to the end of the sentence, the way I speak in French. In English, the end should be lower." He tries to deliver sound bites in English that can be understood effortlessly over the radio or a car stuck in noisy traffic.

here (too). He has been a tireless defender of Canadian federalism in Quebec since the early 1990s, when he began publicly arguing against the widely held view in Quebec that Ottawa has too much power. After Clinton brought him onto federal politics following the 1995 referendum scare, Dion served for eight years as his intergovernmental affairs minister, firing back at anyone who claimed the federalists similar to his home province. Now, Dion says Harper's coming a second by assuming that federal spending needs to be further restricted to preserve Quebec's autonomy. "I've seen this before," he said, "politics coming and saying, 'You're right, you're right,' and then saying, 'You're wrong, you're wrong.' I'm not saying that," he said. "I've worried about what the Prime Minister will do now that he's trapped on this issue."

Harper has been vague about what new rules limiting federal spending he has in mind. Dion worries the Prime Minister doesn't have a fully formulated plan beyond securing the support of Quebec nationalists. "This game, to continue without knowing where you're going, I'm not accepting that," he said. "I've worried about what the Prime Minister will do now that he's trapped on this issue." Dion doesn't shy away from the sort of pro-Canada rhetoric that has made him a hero to staunch federalists, but less than one to the wide swath of Quebec voters who remain ambivalent about federalism. "We have a good federation, a good country," he said. "We have done it wrong once, but it's not true that to be elected you have to be so negative about your federation."

On this theme, Dion can be a meeting face, even if his conviction never quite takes him into charisma. But, then, Harper isn't the sort of politician who can generate that magnetic field of energy and charm either. Neither is a naturally gifted political performer, but both are capable enough. Fisher is fully able to wade into a complex policy file and master it. Where Harper must be given the edge, at this stage, is as a proven party strategist. After all, he orchestrated the winning of the right and the winning of the 2006 election.

For Dion, the strategic challenge began in earnest now. Facing a trio of by-elections, even a historically secure Liberal ride-alike like Gauthier, cannot finally wound his leadership. But failing to reassure Liberals in the aftermath, and to keep his election preparations on track, just might. No matter what, Dion will be in a bind in a general election. How he manages that moment could determine whether he leads or if that campaign leading a revitalized party with a real chance of winning, or as a footnote in this ranking. ■

A new meaning for golden oldies

Seniors' poverty has fallen dramatically, but don't tell the lobbyists

BY PETER SHAWN TAYLOR • Despite Canada's status as a wealthy nation, poverty is never far from the headlines. Last week alone saw the release of two major reports on the subject. The union-backed Campaign 2000 issued an impassioned plea to curtail national child poverty rate. And the white-collar business for Competition and Prosperity released a careful examination of the six groups most at risk of poverty: single mothers, natives, high school dropouts, the disabled, recent immigrants and uneducated adults aged 65 to 64. So like Shrek's Holm's dog that didn't bark, the most significant story in Canadian poverty may be the one nobody is mentioning.

Just a couple of decades ago, seniors' poverty appeared as one of our biggest problems. Apocryphal stories of retirees shivering in the dark among our four once-hundred Canadian politicians. In his memoirs, former prime minister Lester B. Pearson recalled his famous 1965 encounter with a mob of seniors angry over strategies to share their benefits. "Because of the well-organized opposition we faced on the issue, I knew we had no choice but to change our position, scrap deficit, and live to fight another day," he wrote.

Today, seniors' poverty has largely disappeared from the political radar screen, largely because it seems to have disappeared from the real world as well. In 2006, the rate of low income for married elderly couples was seven per cent, according to Statistics Canada. Now it stands at one per cent, the lowest rate of poverty on record for any standard demographic in the country. Single seniors have seen equally dramatic declines over the past 15 decades. For single men over 65, the rate of low income has fallen from 47 per cent to 13 per cent. For elderly females, it's dropped from 57 per cent to 36 per cent.

John Myler, Canada Research Chair in Sociology at the University of Toronto, says this decline in seniors' poverty is one of the great success stories of Canadian public policy. "By any measure you use, we have seen a continuous decline in old age poverty since the 1960s," says Myler. "In fact, we now have one of the lowest rates anywhere in the world and even par with Sweden. It has been quite an accomplishment." Myler attributes the

dramatic change to our solid but modest government pension program, comprised of CPP, OAS and GIS. In combination, these can offer poor seniors a guaranteed income floor of \$11,500—enough to lift most out of poverty but still require personal savings for those who wish for a more comfortable retirement. "No one is getting rich off the CPP," says Myler. "But we don't have big debates about saving seniors' pensions."

All this talk of hiding seniors' poverty is a puzzle to the once-powerful seniors' lobby Bill Gibbensohn, co-director of government



PROTEST IN 1989: For married elderly couples, the low income rate is one per cent

relations for the Canadian Association of Retired Persons, worries that StatCan's numbers have reduced his group's impact in Ottawa. "Everyone seems to think we've done this tremendous job on senior poverty but people have to start looking at it in a more realistic light," he says, arguing that many seniors lack a suitably Canadian standard of living despite the falling poverty figures. Yet some of his main campaign issues, such as seniors' taxes and property taxes, seem to reflect rather changing tastes. "A poor person can have assets too," Gibbensohn states. "Someone who is poor may still own a house." Further proof, it seems, of the success Canada has had in tackling poverty among the elderly. ■

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SWING OPPONENTS' policy is not just a fiction, Flanagan argues, it's a natural good

If you don't like me, I can change!

An insider reveals the PM is not the rabid ideologue many think

BY PAUL WELLS • Revealed at last, the hidden agenda. And it's not Liberals who will be scared. "Thaughalston," Tom Flanagan writes in his new book *Harper's Soul: Behind the Scenes of the Conservative Rise to Power*, "is a genuine act of transparency."

Clearly we're through the looking glass. Flanagan, the U.S.-born Calgary politician to envy, prof who has been Stephen Harper's closest political associate for nearly 20 years, has almost always been depicted as the Dick Cheney of the Harper brain trust. Guardian of orthodox. Channeler of dark currents the chicken like Hayek and Strains.

Neither Flanagan looking "insightful" nor Dick Morris's name for full classon but of opposing's opponents' policy interest so he could whip them at the polls—and lead

ing it, not merely run a ticked bubble but as a moral good. And it's not Liberals who will be scared. "Thaughalston," Tom Flanagan writes in his new book *Harper's Soul: Behind the Scenes of the Conservative Rise to Power*, "is a genuine act of transparency."

This argument is one of the recurring themes in Flanagan's book, which is often more a straightforward chronicle of Stephen Harper's rise from an Reform MP to leader of the rump-kid Canada Alliance, then of the merged Conservatives, and finally as the campaigner who put paid to 15 years of Liberal hegemony on Jan. 23, 2006.

Published by university press, Flanagan's account is no hard-boiled. But a detail the action goes that show a modern leader to run a truly efficient, pilot strategy, to cover from back and take the fight to his enemies. It should be required reading for anyone interested in moving from opposition to power.

For other readers, the resulting subplot of pragmatism vs. ideological purity often the book's most obvious tension. Flanagan along Harper's journey, Flanagan presents his own sense that he began to lead in order and ends in aerial responses.

Near the beginning of this transformation, Harper and Flanagan go into one of the defining fights of modern conservatism: Reform's Prime Minister's halfhearted and behind-the-scenes support of the Quebec town caucus and reform of 1995. Harper and Flanagan were formerly fans of the leader for even contemplating a constitutional accommodation with Quebec. Flanagan quit a party position in 2003.

And "What my concerns justified? I thought so at the time, but 10 years later they look to me more like run-of-the-mill strategy factionalism based on youth and consensus," Flanagan writes.

It takes a lot of work to become this kind of a fundamental question like the nature of Canadian federalism, and on the way Flanagan often finds himself a few steps behind Harper. In his first book, in 1994, Flanagan co-edited *Manning for performing public* calculated over conservative people. He gives the manuscript to Harper for suggestions, and gets a surprise. "Stephen tended to use Preston's own and turns in pragmatist attempts to get more votes for the Reform party."

Still, Harper persists in making them as he sees them for a while. In a 2002 speech at a Nova Scotia university, Harper criticized the whole apparatus of federal transfer to the Atlantic provinces to prop up declining industries. "The incentives created by equalization," he said, "make it more difficult for provincial governments to make decisions in the best economic interests of their populations." Encouraged by such brooding, thinking, Flanagan writes a paper for the *Frederic Institute*. The more conservatives that they won't get anywhere except by "supporting parties with a consistent free-market outlook" instead of "subverting themselves in 'big idea' parties that may sometimes be closer but have no clear agenda." This sent more engineers why Harper and Flanagan worked for the Reform and against the Mulroney Tories in the first place.

And it got Flanagan was trouble. Two Dal party allies, fired of his team, almost didn't show up for a Canadian Alliance fund-raiser thanks to Flanagan. Will there be no sharing about conservatism? Free-market looks for him? "It was a good lesson in the danger of regarding your own independence when you are working closely with the leader of the party," he writes.

From that episode onward, Flanagan is as flexible in his thinking as Winston Smith

at the end of 1984. Harper gives his famous 2004 interview about regional development, the one which he disavows Atlantic "culture of delay." In that interview, Harper said "Traditional regional development programs are not very successful. They greatly disappoint the reader and they not only fail to develop a lot of profitable enterprise, but over a long period of time they have detrimental effects on potential opportunities."

This interview, Flanagan writes sternly, "remained an impediment to his attempts to build support in the Atlantic region at least until the beginning of the 2000-06 election, when he finally offered an apology on radio." Perfectly accurate. But was Harper right? Are traditional regional development programs successful? Do they not distort the market?

HARPER SAW Preston Manning's twists and turns as pragmatic turns from management



Do they encourage recipients to miss opportunities?

If so, then what was he apologizing for? And if he was simply failing his own regional development light under a basket to get decided, then shouldn't Atlantic voters and the rest of us know what he actually thinks about the programs for whose delivery he is now responsible?

To Flanagan, the answer is obvious. His book is a longer version of an argument he has been making here and there since about 2001: that winning elections is better than being right all the time because power gives you more real influence than the affections of the Press Institute world. "Canada is not yet a conservative or a Conservative country," Flanagan writes in his last chapter, "nor

the philosophy of conservatism nor the party itself close to commanding majority support." The best way to change things is to keep and hold power. "If you control the government, you choose policies, appoint the senior civil service, fund or do-fund anything you want, and do many other things that greatly influence the destiny of a nation."

What you mustn't do, however, is say why you are choosing one policy over another, or what you want your civil service appointees to do, or which criteria should determine cabinet group landing. Stated of management theory like to say it easier to seek for greatness than permission. At some point, Harper and Flanagan got tired of asking us whether they could transform Canada and decided, in another turn from management

the could be kept from expressing their

If that standard, Flanagan views the Conservatives' 2004 platform as grossly disproportionate to what it was. There was nothing about 5000 paddlers, and about education, abortion, and capital punishment.

In recklessness 2004 allows a few weeks of named meeting to escape. The Conservatives got had headlines after a party staffer wrote after meeting Conservative policy on bilingualism at Air Canada and Phil Miller, inevitably, denounces the issue. The Harper team's response is not to change the policy or to sidestep it, but to let "stronger steps" in 2006 to ensure that correspondence still didn't create tension during the campaign. And indeed, almost nothing on earth today can ascertain Conservative policy on any issue. That's not a bug, it's a feature.

If transparency is a sure thing, Harper is often Laclosque. After the Conservatives lost British Columbia to the Alliance voted to hold in 2004, "Harper fought back by attacking Liberal stands" on West Coast issues "and, after the 2006 election, promoting David Emerson as his cabinet." In the spring of 2006, Harper was ready to offer a "10-year plan" on health care matters. By the time the real campaign started in the fall, the plan had become a "Preston White Times Guarantee." And what could be more delightful? "Unless they have no faith at all in the source, voters will take a quarter-century 10-year plan as a day," Flanagan writes.

Never mind that the only remaining aspect of that promise is knowledge of its promises are still guaranteed to face what it's wanted, didn't they? They won, didn't they?

And that's hard to argue with. It's not as though Jean Chrétien campaigned in 1993 on a promise to legislate gay marriage and legislate the rules of Quebec succession. Gay ministers improvise more than they can ever plan, and it is natural for conservatives to prefer that a Conservative get to do the improvising.

But there is something limiting about the new that results. Not just when measured against some novel ideal of Socratic dialogue, but in the day-to-day reality of government. That doesn't do trust itself so to have the real conversation. I wonder whether last November's by-election in the Ontario riding of London North was a warning sign. It was run entirely by the Harper Team playbook. The Tories found a tiny candidate who was willing to hide in a cave, avoiding all contact with newspapers, while they bought ads making fun of the Liberals. And the campaign plan? The Harper-Harper method may increase conservatives' chances of victory, but because that's what they finally lose, they don't even get to have fun doing it. M



CANADIAN FOREST: In the Edmonton area, he says, "It's very easy to live your life in French."

BIENVENUE EN ALBERTA

Quebecers, in record numbers, head out to Wild Rose country

BY MARTIN PATRISSEAU • Camille Forest decided to leave his home and family on Christmas Day, a year and a half ago. A 36-year-old from the north, he hoped to find work along his way across Western Canada—work that was paying more and more scarce in the quietest corner of Quebec's Eastern Townships from where he hails. Shopping in Edmonton, he found a sizable French community and knew work that he can handle. He clearly missed Quebec, but he isn't likely going back any time soon.

"The mentality is different here than in Quebec," says the 41-year-old. "Everyone here is very polite, very respectful. People say hello to you in the morning."

Forest isn't the only Quebecer who has decamped for Alberta's greener pastures and boundless oil sands. Some 5,900 Quebecers moved to the Wild Rose province in 2006—more than double the 2005 number—making it the No. 1 destination for Quebec migrants. And it's not just the oil boom alone. Since a few years in the 1950s, Quebec has seen a net loss of people to Alberta every year since at least 1972.

Quebecers moving to Alberta have access to French schools, government services and support groups, as well as established French communities around the province. Forest's 10-year-old son, who spent his father's first year in his job there, attends a French school with a lot of expatriate students. Learning French is suddenly the day thing to do, says Sylvain Turdof of the ACFR, the province's

French Canadian association.

"It's very easy to live your life in French here," Forest says. That is particularly true in the Edmonton area, home to two primary and secondary French language schools and two of three of the province's official bilingual municipalities. Forest even found a local restaurant serving decent enough poutine.

"THE MENTALITY IS DIFFERENT. EVERYONE IS POLITE, RESPECTFUL. THEY SAY HELLO IN THE MORNING."

And let anyone think it is solely a lands-and-oil patch work, consider the case of Willem Smeets—a printer and productivity consultant who found more work in Alberta. "There just aren't enough contacts" in Quebec, he says. "Except for a few who are considered the elite, the competition is intense and salaries are too low."

Employment remains the main reason to come to Alberta. But two provinces' far-reaching ties at Quebec, as well as French-speaking outposts in Quebec, suggest another. Quebec, they say, is labelled by its ongoing political bickering, stifling bureaucracy and protectionist market. "Montreal is becoming desolate...and we've lived years and years

of merlin, complacency and mediocrity," wrote Richard Gosselin, a 54-year-old from Quebec City on the site quebec.macleans.com ("I leave Quebec") recently.

Joseph Bouchardeau moved to Quebec City, partly in a lark—he reported it on June 14, 2005, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day. But he also wanted to give a voice to the thousands of Quebecers who have left their home province. A computer programmer and Internet radio DJ, Bouchardeau himself is a Québecois de souche from the province's business region. Apart from a visit to Florida in 1992, he has never left the province. That said, he's not happy urging others to do so, however. "People who leave do so because they feel blocked," Bouchardeau says. "There is a serious driven mentality here, a lack of entrepreneurial spirit. Taxes are too high and we don't get what we pay for."

Bouchardeau has a kindred spirit in Yvon Todorovici, also a computer programmer, who hails from France. Lured to Quebec by promises of jobs and stability from Quebec's foreign office in France, Todorovici's 12-year sojourn in le belle province ended in May, when he returned to Côte d'Azur after a decade of disillusioned. If the "quêtes le Québec" site is accurate, Todorovici's strongest contact was in and out and better. He looks at the state's 4,600 members of the Quebec society as "low-level looking, intolerant, and, horror of horrors, too North American for their European tastes."

"We really feel that there are three castes in Quebec: immigrants, anglophones and pur durs," Todorovici said in an interview from Côte d'Azur. He welcomed "Go to Alberta." He even provides a link to the Alberta government's immigration website from a banner that reads, "Don't waste your time, don't waste your money, forget Quebec. Come to Alberta." (Told of this, a somewhat shocked Alberta immigration spokesman told Maclean's the government would soon ask that the banner be removed. "[We] do not directly engage in promoting entrepreneurial migration," he said.)

Not that all experts have green up for good. Camille Forest hopes to return home one day, and Willem Smeets says he misses "the cultural life of Quebec." They might be the outliers, but Quebec is home—no matter how tired up they think it might be. ■



ON NEWSSTANDS MAY 22, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS SEPT. 25, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS MAY 11, 2007



ON NEWSSTANDS JULY 15, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS NOV. 17, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS JULY 20, 2007



HOLIDAY MINT AIMS FOR SAFER HIGHWAYS

"The fact is, the most dangerous animal in the province is the mouse, which usually kills at least one family per year at Christmas. It's rare for a family to kill someone. And deer contribute to an alarming cost of vehicle repairs." —Darcy Whittemore, spokesman for Alberta's Ministry of Sustainable Resource Development, after his minister, Brad Martin, established Sept. 22 as a "provincial hunting day" partly to help reduce road collisions.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JONAS DE WILDE, PHOTOGRAPHY

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Jailbirds and crickets: N.W.T. politics

BY NICHOLAS DÖHLE • In about a week or so, voters in the Northwest Territories will head to the polls to elect a new crop of legislators—all independent in a jurisdiction that eschews party politics in favour of consensus government. Yet, in several cases at least, it's hard to imagine a more fractious group of hopefuls. At least five candidates who will appear on ballots on Oct. 1 have criminal convictions, many for serious offences—and one is still wanted by police.

A warrant for the arrest of Greg McKeown, candidate for Hay River South, was issued in early 2006 after he twice failed to appear

for court dates stemming from charges of breach of probation. It is possible that McKeown is a police officer and among others, On the phone, McKeown is defiant and mostly

WITHOUT political parties anyone can run in the N.W.T.

rely on a third party to relay questions every bit as heated as the political candidates, citing housing, concerns, health care and mounting territorial finances as reasons he's seeking the premiership. "I don't have a union they have vision," says McKeown, who is unemployed, of the last batch of legislators. "I think I could do a lot better."

Henry Zee is running in Moonlie after resigning from the seat two years ago in the wake of a conviction for mischief (the struggle took place during a dogfight dispute). Nainich candidate Arnold Hope pleaded guilty two years ago to marijuana possession and unsafe storage of a firearm. "For me it's not a big deal," he says. "It's more guilty than anything." Mark Hogan was convicted of two counts of mischief for collecting 100 crickets in the Yellowknife courthouse, part of his campaign for the fair treatment of Indians in custody disputes. He wants to reduce the "excessive" number of convictions as now rising for 36 inmates—volume due in part to the absence of political parties.

Indeed, that absence is what permits such unusual candidates, says Governor of Alberta political secretary Linda Trimble. "Party leaders typically have the right not to sign nomination papers," she says. "As a person where there aren't party gatekeepers, anybody can stand." ■

Hmm, was it a Thursday? Or a Friday?

BY PATRICIA THORLE • Pay the poor but any teacher who assigned students to write about a Canadian PM—say, Brian Mulroney—based on authoritative online biographies. Depending on which government website the youngsters looked at, the teacher would be faced with at least three different dates for the most basic political information imaginable—Mulroney's last day in office. Library and Archives Canada had June 25, 1993, on its chart of Canadian PMs, as well as listing June 13 on Mulroney's "last facts" Web page, while the Prime Minister's Office, the Library of Parliament and the Privy Council Office all settled for June 24. For the record, June 25 is the correct date.

An examination of the four potentially credible government websites revealed dating discrepancies involving 17 ministries of 24 prime ministers starting with Wilfrid Laurier and involving every subsequent PM, except for Joe Clark and Stephen Harper. After the Privy Council Office combed through the online resources for the official tenure of each ministry, the PMO hastily changed Jean Chretien's start date from Nov. 15, 1995 to Nov. 4. (Calls to the PMO about the discrepancies weren't returned.)

Even the Privy Council Office's Guide to Canadian Ministers, considered the "authority of authorities" for ministerial terms of office, had at least two omissions. After assuming Mulroney's role, the PCU website would be purged of errors, spokeswoman Marian Marshall said. But the correct date would be given to the other departments. While no one could explain how the mistakes went unnoticed for years, perhaps Kim Campbell had been wrong. After being informed that federal websites had three end dates for her brief time in office (Nov. 5, 1991, is correct), she responded: "When I was in government we used to have a humorous expression, 'Close enough for government work.' I guess that shows where it came from." ■

Alzheimer's patient may be home soon



HELENA MUNROE with her brother Mark in happier times

BY CHARLIE GILLIS • A Nova Scotia man whose Alzheimer's-stricken wife was spirited away by her British relatives in close to getting her back. And the newly home courtesy of an unnamed, deep-pocketed donor.

Sandy Munroe received encouraging signals this week from a British panel struck to look into the status of his wife, Helena, whom Canadian consular officials tracked down last April to a long-term care facility in north Yorkshire. A decision on the consignment of the 64-year-old woman could well should return to Canada, provided she travels by air ambulance and that proper medical care is available upon her arrival. The panel, appointed under British law for the protection of vulnerable adults, is awaiting one last written report before issuing its ruling. While there is no word on when the report will land, insiders say it could be a matter of days.

Helena Munroe, a former occupational therapist, vanished in November 2007 from the couple's home in Tenby, P.S., during a visit to London by her brother, Murch. Progressive-minded her on a glider and departed for London, disregarding a power of attorney Helena had signed assigning responsibility for her care to her husband. Progressive told Mulroney that he was missing his mother from a "subservient" and "totally dysfunctional" environment. "Doctors and experts have since come forward to say Sandy Munroe was providing excellent care."

This week, Sandy Munroe offered thanks to an anonymous local donor who offered to fund the air ambulance after hearing media accounts of Helena's case. For now, though, he's anxiously awaiting the panel's decision. "Her time is limited," he said. "She's been in the last stages of a terminal illness for some time now. So, at this time you can imagine, every day is precious." ■



CAMPBELL: Three dates for her departure



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SUNNIS SEE THE GOVERNMENT as infested by their hated Shi'ite Iranian foes, so they've aligned with their former enemies, the U.S. Army

HOW GEORGE BUSH BECAME THE NEW SADDAM

Its strategies shattered, a desperate Washington is reaching out to the late dictator's henchmen BY PATRICK GIMHAAN

IT BEGINS WITH A HISSING, coming up full-pastor on backroads and oneways, but in the darkness of the Baghdad airport car park (couldn't see anything). "Pissure, put the flak jacket on," the South African security contractor who speaks publicly, anxiously. "You know the procedure if we are attacked."

I didn't. He explained. One of the chase vehicles would pull up beside us and someone would drag me out of the stricken car, away from the firing. If both drivers were unconscious—nice euphemism—he and I should try to run to the nearest army check-

point. If the check point was American, they might work out if they didn't shoot first. If it was Iraqi... its didn't elaborate.

Arriving in Baghdad has always been a little weird. Under Saddam Hussein it was like going into an orderly maze, when he ran out after the U.S. led invasion of March 2003 put an end to his Baathist party regime, the city became a chaotic mess. I lived in Iraq for almost two years, but after three years away I wasn't quite ready for pathos downed and worn down the place seemed in the early evening. It was as if some kind of red wax was

slowly rotting away at the edges of things, breaking down the city into urban congeal.

Since 2003, more than 3,775 U.S. troops have been killed in Iraq, while nearly 7,500 Iraqi policemen and soldiers have died. For Iraq's civilian population, the carnage has been almost incalculable. Last year alone, the UN estimated that 24,300 civilians were killed and more than 16,000 wounded, other estimates are much higher. As the country's ethnic divisions widen, especially between Iraq's Arab Shi'a and Arab Sunni Muslims (the Kurds are the third major group), some opposition people have been internally displaced, with another two million fleeing their homeland altogether. Ensnared Baghdad couldn't tell the Kurds' neighborhood, then really, by the flames to the walls and the eagerness, our

loyalty (Saddam was a Sunni) who only a short while ago were routinely called "terrorists," "anti-Iraqi fighters," and "Baathist dead-enders." They are suspicious of one another and strongly anti-American, although willing to work for the regime, with the U.S. The leader and founder of the Arab Awakening Council, Sheikh Abdul Samir Abu Risha, was recently killed by a roadside bomb outside his house in Ramadi, clearly an inside job of some kind for which al-Qaeda claimed credit.

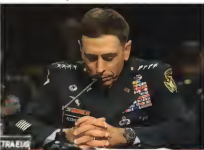
Only 10 days earlier, Abu Risha had met with George W. Bush during the President's visit to Iraq, the photo-op of death, apparently kept plotting Iraqis but few answered. When I told a friend in Bagh that no one was taking my calls, he suggested that people didn't answer unknown numbers because they were afraid of doctors. Apparently, around

When I finally got to the one friend I knew in Ramadi, along with several million of his countrymen. "Come to Falluja," Ahmed said. "You can't let Qadafi's my trap." It wasn't clear how I was supposed to get to Falluja from Baghdad, although it was only a few miles from the capital. Ahmed wasn't sure it was a good idea to try. Passing through Abu Ghraib, a large suburban area outside the capital where Saddam and then the Americans ran a notorious prison, could be a real problem, he said. There, both insurgents and Shi'a militia often set up checkpoints and kidnappers. The Americans, mind you, have a more optimistic view of the Abu Ghraib situation. A few weeks later, I would watch Ambassador Ryan Crocker tell Congress of a new understanding in cooperation between former Sunni insurgents and their enemies in the Shi'a-dominated administration. Over 1,700 Sunni tribesmen in Abu Ghraib were officially hired by the government as security forces. Ambassador Crocker may have been accurate—it's just that the positive spin happening in Iraq shouldn't be called unrealistic. They are more like yelp pebbles.

PETRAEUS INTONED THE OLD BAAATHIST MANTRA ABOUT THE DANGER TO IRAQ: IRAN, IRAN, IRAN

"Come to Ramadi—we can drive from here and the road is safe," Ahmed said. He listed the various tribal militias controlling the 450 km road through Arab provinces from the Syrian border to Falluja that could protect us. It seemed to be typical of the recent over-hyped success of the Arab Awakening to Damascus, and then driven back across the desert, to get only 40 minutes outside Baghdad in order to see it for yourself (you could go with the U.S. Army as well, but you aren't really about a Sunni town if you are with Americans and end up sounding like a war ingenuitism for the New York Times). Ahmed said that when he and his "troop" (his quiet word for what sounded like a militia) captured al-Qaeda fighters around Falluja, they shipped the leaders to the border for interrogation by Syrian intelligence. So far, he'd seen 12. You can't blame him—was the Americans sent suspects to Syria when they went there, too? Just ask Maher Asef.

I first met the tribal militia that make up the Arab Awakening during the U.S. invasion of Iraq, when a family I knew smuggled me out to a small village between Ramadi and Falluja. Saddam's army had virtually disappeared from the countryside, and these militias, trained by Saddam's regime and at the time still in it, controlled the roads and villages of Iraq just as they do today. I spent a lot of 2003 and 2004 around Falluja



PETRAEUS TESTIFYING in Washington. Bush took up the general's views in a speech you can't govern Iraq without the Sunnis, even as you encourage anti-Saddam Shi'a nationalism

process, beginning long before the recent U.S. "surge" that increased the number of American troops in Iraq by 30,000, to 186,000. But it was a shaky union, a desperate marriage of convenience based on shared enemies: Iraq, and the Sunni's former friend-turned-foe al-Qaeda. Many of America's new allies are former insurgents and Saddam's thugocracy, beginning long before the recent U.S. "surge" that increased the number of American troops in Iraq by 30,000, to 186,000. But it was a shaky union, a desperate marriage of convenience based on shared enemies: Iraq, and the Sunni's former friend-turned-foe al-Qaeda. Many of America's new allies are former insurgents and Saddam's thugocracy,

beginning long before the recent U.S. "surge" that increased the number of American troops in Iraq by 30,000, to 186,000. But it was a shaky union, a desperate marriage of convenience based on shared enemies: Iraq, and the Sunni's former friend-turned-foe al-Qaeda. Many of America's new allies are former insurgents and Saddam's thugocracy, even as you encourage anti-Saddam Shi'a nationalism

and Ahmad, getting to know a group of men prefiguring the 9/11 conspiracy. I'm pretty certain that if the initial recruits had been as religiously trained — as paid \$100,000 each per day the way they were now — and the U.S. Army hadn't driven around Riyadh and Telaba shooting wildly in the spring of 2003, many would have been American allies from the beginning. Instead, a lot of them became insurgents, hooked up with their contacts from Saddam's former security services, and eventually allied themselves with the Iraqis during the Iraq invasion of Iraq. That relationship was very hostile at first, but al Qaeda soon became destructive parasites, phagocytizing each one who killed anybody opposed to their control and even Islamic codes.

When Gen. David Petraeus, commander of the multinational force in Iraq, appeared before Congress with Ambassador Crocker to testify about the results of President Bush's "surge" strategy, he talked a lot about their tribal militias and the success of Anbar. It is the only progress the U.S. has made in Iraq for years. It is unclear whether the additional 30,000 troops that make up the surge have had much effect on the Anbar Awakening.

But watching Gen. Petraeus, I was struck by how familiar his words sounded. The general talked like every Soldier I've ever met in Iraq—he'd, he sounded a bit like Saddam. The old tyrant would have had one of his character ruse chess-playing pawns watching Petraeus as he entered the old Baghdad markets about the dangers to Iraq. Iran, Iran, Iran. Bush took up Gen. Petraeus's view, a few days later in a nationally televised speech about Iraq, in which he talked about the



THE NOTION OF THERE BEING ANY COHESIVE POWER IN IRAQ IS A MYTH



Shir: Tehran posed. It seems that it means and it feels like come to the same conclusion as Saddam: the main enemy is Iran, and you can't govern Iraq without the Shiite Arab tribes, even as you encourage anti-Iraqis anti-irradiation among the Shia. This is what Saddam did during the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s, and what Washington is trying to do now. One of the main problems with this strategy is that both the Sunni tribes and Shia nationalists are profoundly anti-American and don't trust each other—a potential recipe for further disaster.

GOING IN TO RING in the sunset, through a deepening Scheffersmiste, in short, Nights of Hysteria/Serms. Everybody had them. Do you want to see a picture of someone's 18-year-old boy, dropped up in pines and put in a creek just before his parents could pay the Scheffersmiste's money? Here, look at the barn on my body, afflicted by the bodyguards of the Scheffersmiste who add my eight-year old son and the local Gables. Let me tell you about being kidnapped in Phillips by a gang that arrived to be all Quesada—they're like a drink after they had a little before and then drink after they set up music with no musicians to create an own singing machine. As a Beryl of mine hear some more and over. "Where do they go these people?" That kind of a person does this? Where do they go there?"

Sadly, the 1960s are not real, while to crush that is said about Iraq is myth and delusion. As the German American war correspondent Martha Gellhorn wrote about armed conflict, there is "the real war and the propaganda war." During the congressional hearings about the rape, the rape of the rape of Tammara Forsyth (Laila), half expecting Ambassador Crocker to report on Iraq, Petra's address was "Iraq, look, here, the place." "Smiles, everyone, smiles!" Sometimes I think Iraq doesn't exist as it is! It's not a mere collection of provinces, a country intended to keep the West's small group of big imperialist profiteers, fighting over facts about a place that is so clearly a work of fiction. Perhaps I wish it didn't exist, as I hear for the first of Iraqis. First of all, Iraq is not real.

Certainly the notion of there being any cohesive central power in Iraq is a myth. What ever is running the country, it's not a government: Iraq's body politic has some kind of autoimmune deficiency syndrome in which the antibodies designed to defend it have turned on its own organs. It's perfect environment for opportunistic parasites, in this case Iraq's neighbours. So serious are our efforts to criticise Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's failure to expose, as it somehow he was in charge

A SHIA SUPPORTER of Muqtada al-Sadr celebrates by burning a U.S. track troop, Iraq's president convenes war with Iraq's Shiites



of anything that could be called a state.

In many ways, this is Saddam's finest moment; he named the Iraqis into a nation of faithful loyalists only because they were not. That's why it was called a regime. But that's really a set of regimes. Each of the tribes is controlled by a sheikman or group of sheiks, the Saddams, they have loyalty owed to themselves (although they are fought over by competing factions themselves) and important because that the money is spent from oil, Iraq industries, unless you consider money

and that is a heavy industry at the moment," says an Asian drug doctor who left medicine for one of the many foreign companies that make money in Iraq (most of them are) and "There are only two ways to make real Iraq—working for the ministries, or working for the U.S. Army."

The level of corruption in the mine is astounding, but according to U.S. State Dept. reports they are often "forced" because the prime minister's office pressures them from investigation. The Minister of Justice is by the way, left, the former owner of the interior who had those Shin ministration as police and set up squads and torture prisons. His staff had to fire 30,000 employees, and took out factions fight for control of each of the Interior Ministry building.

At least US\$100 billion has been credited according to Iraq's Commission on Inquiry, which is multiethnic (11 members have been murdered). After reports surfaced detailing how the prime minister looted the commission's inventory of corrupt officials, Maliki accused them of the commission of corruption and evaded him with arrest. Luckily the prime minister fled the country. Corruption: Oil Ministry-Iraq's nationalized hydrocarbons are the source of revenue—



SECTARIAN KILLINGS ARE DOWN—BECAUSE THERE ARE ACTUALLY FEW MIXED NEIGHBOURHOODS LEFT



at shortages that have only increased the long lineups for gasoline in a country brimming with oil. Senior Iraqi army officers complain that when they organize raids on Shia centers, they are stopped on orders from the prime minister's office. Iraq was a disaster under Saddam, but it has turned into Nigeria.

Milibi has been accused of running a "neo-fascist" government, but accusations of running a pro-Shia government are also swirling. Bush of running a pro-Republican administration. Like Karl Rove, who hopes to make the Republican party supreme, Milibi seems to want to set up Shia-dominated rule that will control Iran for generations. And

SLIPING FAMILIES displaced by *in*-Seeds (LEFT), Sade's followers, whose preferred method of torture is the electric drill

like Kave, he focuses on his brain, with little regard for any other point of view unless the U.S. pressures him (even then he pooms and makes vague threats about looking for other allies, by which he obviously means Iran).

In case of poll and date counting, the governing Shi parties have often claimed by using criticism to "incite chaos" in Baghdad, a retaliation against al Qaeda's spectacular car bombing campaign. By one estimate, Baghdad has seen 66 per cent Sunni, today it is 75 per cent Shi. Deaths from sectarian killings are reportedly down, in large measure because there are few mixed neighborhoods left. Almost the entire Sunni middle

**S ARE
HERE
MIXED
LEFT**



The great story of Mallico is that under other circumstances a government like his—one that is accused by the U.S. of close relations with an American enemy (Frankly, I'm raising a statistically empowered country like Iraq), could involve in the opposition and render aid of its minorities (the Saudis), which is closely linked to an important U.S. ally (the Saudis)—is an administration that many Americans would strive to eliminate. That

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FIRST, HAVE 55 YEARS OF EXPERIENCE.

Sharp got into the TV business in 1953, producing Japan's first television. This act was a groundbreaking achievement in the nascent industry. While the U.S. market was eagerly manufacturing 17-inch TVs, Sharp wisely chose to build a 14-inch, which fit the scale of the typical Japanese household much better at a more affordable price.



Sharp's first TV, the 14-inch model, was a success.

Sharp's management sensed that television would become the dominant consumer entertainment and thought source and advertised the TV as "providing a new visual life." The theme resonated deeply in a nation that was building a new identity for itself and forging an exciting new role in the global economy.

Sharp saw production go from a mere 25 sets in the first month to 500 per month by the end of the first year. By the end of the second year, modern conveyor assembly lines were producing 5,000 TVs per month. The consumer electronics revolution was on.

NEXT, PUT COLOUR IN CONTEXT.

Sharp began mass-producing colour TVs in 1960. The colour TV was the most complex product ever sold to consumers: its reliability and ease of use were critical to its acceptance. It was clear that colour would be the future of TV. Looking even further ahead, Sharp executives speculated that some day TVs would be thin enough to hang on the wall.

Sharp brought its industry-leading manufacturing expertise to bear on the complexities of colour TVs, refining industry standards and developing its own designs. By 1965, it was exporting colour sets overseas. Turning products to local preferences across the globe quickly became a corporate skill, bolstered by international offices with local national managers and staff working closely with Sharp management and product development teams.

FINALLY, USE INNOVATIVE TECHNOLOGY.

In 1970, liquid crystal displays were a laboratory curiosity. Where others saw a quirky, hard-to-manage science experiment, Sharp saw the future: less power usage, larger, more durable displays. By 1973, it had mastered the technology and had incorporated an LCD display in a pocket calculator that soon became widely popular, putting made in Asia display technologies.

Sharp's LCD innovation cemented its position as a world leader and caused the revelation that put the device on every desk and in every pocket. Already a leader in electronic calculators, Sharp scored numerous firsts, including some of the first transistorized models.

In 1970, Sharp also began to produce its own large-scale integrated circuits, including custom, purpose-built chips for calculators and other consumer products. This investment in 130 semiconductor capability made products smaller, lower cost and shortened supply lines. It allowed Sharp to create products

that were increasingly intelligent on the inside while remaining simple to operate, richer in features and increasingly powerful.

CREATE AN ENTIRELY NEW CLASS OF PRODUCT.

By the mid-1980s, televisions were ubiquitous. Consumers had begun to buy small portable TVs. In 1983, Sharp viewed the portable TV market with the tiny Crystaltron TV set, which featured a three-inch colour screen. It rendered CRT and monochrome LCD portables virtually obsolete in a single stroke. Two years later, Sharp developed the world's first 14-inch TFT (thin-film transistor) colour display.

Colour LCDs revolutionized portable computer displays, then desktop displays and finally, LCD TVs.

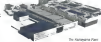
Building thin-film transistors on glass became one of the crown jewels in Sharp's technology portfolio. Sharp has consistently remained one or two generations ahead of other companies.

AIM FOR THE TOP AND NOT IT.

Plasma TVs utterly dominated the large flat-panel TV market, but Sharp engineers had continually broken new ground with ever-larger, ever-higher-resolution LCD TVs. A market emerged. Demand for HD TVs skyrocketed as broadcasters began HD programming and consumers demanded an increasingly cinematic experience in their homes.

Consumers worldwide have found the bold, beautiful AQUOS sets irresistible. The 40-year-old dream of a TV that could hang on a wall has come true. They have consistently won awards and accolades as some of the very best HD TVs available anywhere. In the home, professional or business market, however, manufacturers have found another aspect highly compelling: the plant where the sets are made. The Kamryama plant, the world's most advanced, is among the "greenest" Japanese TV buyer's look specifically for the TVs made in Kamryama, knowing that they're not only getting the highest-quality HD TV, but the one with the lowest environmental impact.

Sharp made a major investment in its Kamryama plant, where it produces LCD panels and AQUOS TVs. Following a corporate mandate for efficiency, environmental sensitivity and conservation of resources, Kamryama generates 5 MW (megawatts) of electricity from roof-mounted solar cells. It uses cogeneration and other energy conservation techniques, produces no landfill and recycles 100 percent of the water used for production. Kamryama has been operating as an 8th-generation LCD plant for nearly a year while competitors are just beginning to bring their 8th-generation plants online. In the future as in the past, you can expect Sharp to remain at the forefront of manufacturing and product technology.



The Kamryama Plant

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SHARP.

to a point where if the U.S. Army wasn't there already, Washington would have needed to get rid of Mullah. But having toppled Saddam, lost thousands of soldiers, and so far spent some \$150 billion on combat operations alone, the U.S. is now in two weeks of a position to do much.

Makho, though, might fall of his own accord. In the end, having alienated Sunnis and secular Iraqis, his unwieldy coalition government will probably be brought down as a result of the growing rift between Shia parties that are now fighting for control of southern Iraq and Baghdad. (On Sept. 15, Muqtada al-Sadr's movement withdrew from the ruling coalition because Sadr had been driven out of power.)

their consent for Mullah when they left Iraq in late August. Neither could the refreshingly unimpeachable French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner, an outspoken advocate of human rights who supported the original invasion. It must drive him mad to see what

THE U.S. MILITARY MADE UP A STORY FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION, THEN BELIEVED IT THEMSELVES



One of the problems outsiders have in criticizing the present Iraqi government is its appalling incoherence: that there is a tendency for people to think, "Well, what do you want—Saddam?" That's absurd, of course. Like criticizing Russian President Vladimir Putin and being accused of wanting a return of the Soviet Union. And the group in Iraq that seems to be most critical of this government—other than the Sunnis—is the U.S. Army.

U.S. soldiers have been up to their knees in the blood of Shia and the killings, as well as innocent death squads and car bombs, and have few illusions about this government's intentions. You can tell the military's news isn't par by its enthusiasm for its new Samaritan ally, but the vehemence with which American politicians who have come through Iraq on this summer's army-organized tours have come out against Mullah. Senators Carl Levin, a Democrat, and Jack Warner, a Republican, could barely contain



AMERICAN SOLDIERS burned an effigy of Iraqi leader U.S. withdrawal of Saddam Hussein, giving him legitimacy

Makho is doing now, helping to destroy Kouchner's robust, pro-human rights Western foreign policy model that was supposed to make the world safer for tyrants.

We all understand, in a very basic way, that a seeling of scores by the Shia is impossible

to avoid, especially with the car bombs and insurgent attacks on their neighborhood since 2003. But after a few years of justice, the Shia parties have shown the resolve to be particularly motivated by revenge. Take Bayan Jabr. I met him before the war in Syria, when he was the secretary of the Iranian-based Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (now SICRI, formerly SCIRI), and was struck only by his blindness. When the invasion was over, I asked him how many members of his family had been killed by Saddam. Thirty-two, he said, shaking his head. As a minister of the interior, Jabr was responsible for at least as many deaths as the rest of the people. Saddam was convicted of killing after an execution ceremony, outside the village of Duqat in 1982, murders for which the dictator was hanged. That doesn't mean Jabr is as bad as Saddam, but I wouldn't want to be his enemy.

Revenge is deeply woven into the foundations of this war, and not just on the Iraq side. I remember looking inside the hotel Hareira during a vicious dawn raid on the day the Americans took the city on April 2003 inside was an "I Love NY" under. How much of the American motivation for the war was Iraq's desire for a question that can be asked every time. Bush is, of course, as he was recently in Australia, saying "we're kicking you." Maphulac pay back, perhaps, but revenge is rarely rational.

JUST AS ONE is accused of being a pro-Saddam, Bush or sympathizer if you criticize the government in Baghdad, as measured of being a neo con if you point out how deeply involved Iran has become in Iraq. The role Iran plays is as complex and shady as can be expected in a situation that is so murky on so many different levels, from neighborhood turf wars to world oil strategies and a proxy war with America. But the U.S.

government is right, as he concerned, although it's not clear they can do much except protest, threaten loudly, and fight a long, dirty war.

Iraq, Iran's neighbor to the west, is Tehran's self-declared security zone. Iran has already been attacked once from Iraq—by a Shia-American ally, Saddam—and won't let it happen again. Nor do the Iranians want, in the West does, a secular Iraq government that could destabilize their own strategy for them, Iraq, in a survival state. U.S.-led sanctions have conquered not only Iraq but Afghanistan on Iran's eastern flank. The U.S. Navy is floating off Iranian shores, leaving few doubts whether to launch Iran. How could Iran afford to be involved in Iraq? Following the Arab Spring, the Iranian government has learned that it's better to fight the U.S. on the streets of Baghdad than the streets of Tehran.

The real question is, what are Iran's objectives in Iraq, and how will Iraqis react? If Iran wants economic, political and military domination, the problems are long-term. If Iran is in Iraq to fight a proxy war against the United States, then presumably it will leave when the U.S. does. In general, Iran's foreign policy is extremely suspicious of the Iranian government and its involvement in that country—not just the Sunnis, but the Shias and Kurds as well. But then again, even Iranians are suspicious of their own government.

Iran has a number of interests in Iraq that go beyond security. The most obvious is religious—Iraq contains some of the holiest sites of Shia Islam that have been cut off from Iranian pilgrims for decades. The other is economic. With a population of over 65 million people, Iran views itself as a regional superpower and expects the financial rewards that come from that position. And like any other superpower, it expects economic problems for its neighbors. When I was in Baghdad in August, people complained that Iraqi farms produce was being driven off of the market by Iran, which is dumping its fruit and vegetables in Iraq. This is a disaster for Iraqi agriculture, one of the few areas of employment in the country.

The actual influence of Iran on the Iraq government is hard to judge. The present

administration is made up of mainly Shia parties, some of which are very anticorruption and anti-foreign, like the Fadhila party, while others, like the Shiite, that was formed as an anti-Saddam party in Iraq in 1981, are very close to Tehran. For the U.S., the most worrying Iranian influence is the authority that Iranian security services have over religious like the Shia's Bad Organization, which was based in Iran for 20 years until the fall of Saddam. Even Muqtada al-Sadr's militia, the Mahdi Army, is thought to have one wing controlled by Iran.

SADDAM IN 1996, two years before U.S. forces brought an end to his regime, a U.S. satellite conducts a demonstration



IRAN KNOWS IT'S BETTER TO FIGHT AMERICA IN BAGHDAD THAN IN TEHRAN



These days, though, the biggest concern on the highways of Baghdad is not Sunni insurgent bombings, but the explosive-fueled persecution that a Shia mobster copper slugs through even American highways. According to U.S. intelligence, they are provided by Iran's Revolutionary Guard Corps to Shia militias. Of course, U.S. intelligence accounts are now in respect to the Iran government decide that they provide

AMERICA'S OTHER, main enemy is al-Qaeda in Iraq, which is to ensure bin Laden's al-Qaeda what a cheap watch is to a Swiss timepiece—effective, easily reproduced, and disposable. Al-Qaeda did not exist in Iraq before the invasion, but today it's, along with Iran, one of the two strongest arguments the U.S. makes for "staying the course." Al-Qaeda in Iraq is essentially a religious criminal gang that kills anyone who doesn't fit its power or differs from its Shia views on establishing a perverse form of an Islamic state. Its death squads and extremely destructive truck bombs have killed thousands of Shias, but Sunnis, too, have suffered al-Qaeda's violence. Car bombs, assassinations and "vehicular punishments," including drive-by shootings and cutting off the fingers of smokers, have put Sunni Iraq under a Mordor-like shadow of terror and justified collective punishment from the Shia. Bush's testimony in Congress, Gen. Petraeus pointed out the lethal threat of al-Qaeda. But this should come as no surprise to an American general—because the U.S. Army helped create al-Qaeda in Iraq.

The American role in the promotion of the terrorist organization is not some mad conspiracy theory, but a well-documented attempt by the U.S. government to dismantle the

15

THE CRAZY KACZYNSKIS

Will Poland's eccentric twins keep Poles apart after the upcoming election?

BY PAUL WELLS—Shortly before lunch one day last week, a car pulled a billboard on wheels onto the bustling park next to Warsaw's central train station. Two young members of Poland's politicians, one slender and bespectacled, the other tall and broad-shouldered, met the car and stood until the waiting TV camera crew and newspaper photographers were ready. Then the taller parliamentarian, Jacek Kurski, made a brief announcement through a billboard to the assembled journalists and a few bemused passersby.

On one side, the billboard carried a Polish inscription: "PS Rules: Concepts." On the other, "PS Rules: Aspiration." A line at the bottom on both sides read, "PS is in power and Poles are Aspired." PS is the Polish initials that stand for Law and Justice, the left party in the governing coalition that collapsed with a confidence vote on Sept. 2, after one of the strongest years Polish politics has seen since the end of the Cold War. The lead cars at PS are presidential twins and former child actors: Poland's president, Lech Kaczyński, and prime minister, Jarosław Kaczyński.

Jacek Kurski is a 34-year-old former bank employee. His brooding good looks and wit suggest to go wherever campaign officials think he might be useful have made him one of the campaign stalwarts of Civic Platform, Poland's main opposition party. Poland's parliament is built on proportional representation, so it is hard for any of its parties to hold power solely by forming a coalition. Before the 2005 election that brought the Kaczyński government, law generally assumed PS and Civic Platform would govern together, and foreign journalists almost always describe the two as "rival conservative factions" or "the two main conservative right parties."

But PS and Civic Platform had a falling out already in 2006 as the 2005 election was over. Civic Platform representatives never belonged to the exclusively conservative government the Kaczyński led. The Kaczyński government—rural, Catholic, right-wing, small-business, anti-immigrant, anti-gay, anti-environmentalist—has been hailed as holding the allegiance of the very large population that have been left behind by Poland's nearly two decades of freedom. Civic Platform's members, led by Donald Tusk, 50, a blandly handsome over-

politics and former student-activist Communist, are more urban, educated, liberal-minded. They believe the Kaczyński have brought shame to Poland, and Warsaw is chosen to play a respected role in the economy of nations after centuries of foreign occupation.

"Jarosław Kaczyński divides people," Sławek Mielnicki said after the event outside the train station. "He doesn't see Poland, he sees a 'Poland A' and a 'Poland B' and he only wants 'Poland B.' Only the people who are less educated, with no money." And for foreign policy, "Our position in Europe has declined significantly in the last two years. The Kaczyński can't negotiate. They are only fight."

But Civic Platform blew a polling lead in 2009. And despite persuading Jacek Kurski, a popular former *doświadczeni* minister, to switch from PS to Civic Platform, they have slowly fallen behind the Kaczyński in early polls in advance of the Oct. 12 vote. Tusk and his followers are simply not very good at politics. They are easy to portray to Americans without understanding rural Poland because they are too busy worrying who should drive their. Their odds of winning are fair at best.

Adam Michalski is a legendary former editor and journalist who founded *Gazeta Wyborcza*, perhaps the best Polish daily newspaper. His political sympathies are with the center-left, but his decision to go public made him a participant in an elaborate scheme of bribes for legislative changes that would have brought huge advantage to Michalski's company. Michalski was the former social-democratic government and passed the way for the Kaczyński's rise two years ago. Last May, Michalski wrote "I think, two Poland's confessions: one is Poland of success, dare, and revenge; the other is Poland of hope, courage, and dialogue. The second Poland—openness and tolerance, of John Paul II and Andrzej Leśka, of my friends from the underdog group and from people—can prevail."

But at last weekend, the Poland of success and revenge was five points ahead on public opinion polls.

If there is a nation whose people could be forgiven a tendency toward suspicion of neighbors and external powers, it is Poland. In 1795, its king and parliament were forced a constitution whose laws on royal power were so sweeping that Poland's imperial neighbors invaded Poland and so on it went. Poland ceased to exist until after the First World War. The Treaty of Versailles gave Poles their country back, which is why today there is a big



THE PAIR HAVE TAG-TIED HARD TO DRIVE ANGELA MERKEL BATTY

status of the U.S. president at the time, Woodrow Wilson, near the Polish parliament. Poland resumed with a bang. In 1945, under Marshal Józef Piłsudski, the Polish army had back in session by the Soviet Red Army. But even a grossly outrageous nation was not much for the brutality and treachery of 1939. Hitler invaded on Sept. 1. Under the terms of a secret pact between him and Stalin, the Soviets invaded from the east 16 days later.

Hitler eventually came against Stalin, but Poles knew what they were getting when the Soviets "liberated" Poland in 1945. For a half-century they were trapped in a totalitarian state that put suspicion and hatred at the core of everyday life. The Solidarity labor union movement helped end the Cold War

POLAND'S PRESIDENT, Lech Kaczyński, and Polish Prime Minister Jarosław Kaczyński

time, crushed corruption that delivered most of the fruits of prosperity to headmen of the old Communist regime.

They are the cornerstones of the Kaczyński regime: a battle against homosexuality, abortion and other "social pathologies," pervasive suspicion of the countries that once invaded Poland (Germany, Russia) and not came to university students today (the rest of Europe), and a fight against corruption that often went into race-baited persecution of real or imagined internal enemies.

Things started getting wilder after the 2005 election. With Civic Platform refusing to play coalition ball, PS had to get its parliamentary majority from two parties to emerge (they had once seemed beyond the democratic pale: *Samobronie* [Self Defense] is an agrarian populist movement whose leader, Andrzej Lepper, has received awards from Anti-Semite groups and his been convicted of sexual harassment in nearly 100 years). The League of Polish Families is an anti-Catholic social conservative movement. In young leader, Robert Gierzyński, had a book of a man in Jarosław Kaczyński's top prime minister and education minister. He complained about the teaching of evolution in public schools, announced he would no longer talk to BBC reporters because the BBC still reports about pathologies among Catholic priests, and produced an impressive two-hour video he warned students from the school curriculum because their authors were either after foreigners (Doroszewski, Goethe, Kafka) or Poles who had left and, therefore, betrayed the homeland (Joseph Conrad). Bookshelves in Warsaw promptly produced display shelves for the so-called "Gierzyński Index" books.

Meanwhile, the Kaczyński were making

scholarships, politicians, judges, journalists. One target, Euro dignity and former Solidarity's political prisoner Bronisław Geremek, refused to sign, calling it a wish list. He was removed from an advisory board of the ceremonial Order of the White Eagle and accused by Jarosław Kaczyński of "damaging the state's image." An *Interpol* went apologetic. "The state phrases were used by the leaders of the Communist Poland years earlier when Geremek criticized their rule."

Then there was Germany. Of course there has been tension, and sometimes war, between Poles and Germans for centuries. But Chancellor Angela Merkel was raised in Cold War Germany's Communist East. She is the most pro-American chancellor in her country's modern history. Or rather, she tries to be. The Kaczyński have long argued had to drive her away. Perhaps the most interesting move came at a regular meeting of European heads of government in Brussels in June. The EU gives countries of different populations different voting weights in common decisions. Under a system barely revised in 2006 as Poland and other smaller countries prepared to join, Poland got almost as many votes in Council, which has twice the population. Proposals for a new voting formula would reduce Poland's vote.

As the leaders listed all the around in Brussels, Jarosław Kaczyński on the phone from Warsaw, making a telephone brother, president Lech, didn't give away the shop. Poland doesn't want Germany's weight, Jarosław argued, because if the Nazis hadn't killed millions of Poles, Poland's population would today rival Germany's. Applauded, Merkel briefly proposed a special meeting with 25 of 27 member nations—all but Poland—so color would reduce Poland's vote.

The Kaczyński regime of suspicion reached what might be called its logical conclusion over the past several months. The twins turned on their coalition partners and accused them of massive corruption. First Lepper, then Gierzyński, were accused of corruption and bribery in government. But the focus was on a spectacular case when Jarosław Kaczyński, a former interior minister, accused the Kaczyński of using the secret services, the Justice Ministry and the Anti-Corruption Bureau to tail and camp outposts partners. On Aug. 30, eight days before parliament fill and the



MASSACHUSETTS: COWBELL WARNING TO TRUCKS
The state is considering banning black a very old-fashioned warning system for trucks who ignore low clearance warnings for bridges. The Department of Conservation and Recreation is considering stringing cowbells above roads to alert truck drivers. The problem is just local right now at this time of year in Boston, where they're huge underpasses are saving hours to some trucks that get jammed under bridges.

election campaign began, police arrested Kaczynski and former police chief Roman Kormanowski (they were released on bail).

In short, his under the Kaczynski has often been close to a carapace. But even those critics are not sure they are headed for defeat.

Edmund Witek-Lipinski is a sociologist and president of the Collegium Civitas, an northeastern private college of the social sciences and humanities. "We are trying to educate Poland's elites," said Witek-Lipinski, an elegantly dressed man who assembles the Swedish actor Max Von Sydow. He became very upset when a reporter told him most foreign accounts laud PiS and Civic Platform together as "two center-right parties." "No, no, no—there is a fundamental controversy!" he said. "PiS wants to build the state to Civic Platform wants to build a social society. How can you say they are similar?"

But Witek-Lipinski had to admit the Kaczynskis have been busy in building their coalition. "That's why they succeeded in uniting dispersed elements of society: those who are excluded, those who believe in authoritarian 19th century sovereignty, those who are antisemites, populists, fundamentalists. That is a very peculiar mixture. But it is united by one thing: a definition of the situation and of the enemy."

And Civic Platform? Pawel Walicki, famous for his studies of the pro-market party, notes though he has built his career within PiS. He is a far cry from the rubes who are usually those who wake up the religious Mr. Tefkins, a former head of an overseas service, he was a white-necked jacket and an agent in he granted a reporter and explained why—though he within PiS and Civic Platform would form a coalition—the election may disappear everyone.

Witek-Lipinski was faced as president of the parliamentary foreign affairs committee after he dared to suggest the Kaczynski "foreign affairs minister" too possibly he admits that "sometimes the main character of our foreign policy is a lack of finesse." But he still finds the Civic Platform campaign inept. Those bourgeois allegiances "concepts" and "imperatives" that he decried. "They have wasted a lot of money," Zaleski said. "Because there was completely no understanding of the elections."

This bourgeoisie politician in his next and haunting cost had a hard time holding his discomfort with the Kaczynski's outburst. But he is sure that PiS, who have been left behind by nearly two decades of normal, are dead to such criticism. "Maybe the style is not elegant. But who cares? Of course some criticism could be offered by the other side. Of course. But they are not the voters. They are not a majority of the voters." ■

What's Romanian for buffoon?

BY PATRICIA TREMBLE • President Traian Basescu is being event-paced by Romania's National Council to Combat Discrimination. Again. This time the watchdog is considering a questionable comment uttered when Basescu publicly praised his surgeon, Mircea Chiriac, following a throat operation. "Finally, I see a good American!" He quickly changed that to "a competent American," but the damage was done.

The remark was apparently a veiled barb aimed at Economy Minister Vasile Năstase of the governing liberal party, an ethnic American as well as a political rival who has previously called the president "a risk for democracy." For years, Romanian politicians have been entangled in a seemingly endless series of bitter disputes. In May, after the ruling coalition alleged the president had abused power and suspended him from office, Basescu was released when an impeachment referendum returned a favorable vote of 75 percent. But that same day, he lost his temper after being confronted by a TV reporter who was trying to interview him with a camera while he was shopping with his wife. Basescu grabbed the phone and later confessed it was just a recording, called the reporter "a stupid piggy." When Anders Pers (who isn't known) got his phone back, he then aired the comments, and the first anti-discrimination investigation was launched.



BASESCU: An unfortunate penchant for ethnic slurs

launched. The agency gave Basescu an official warning, ruling his remarks was "degrading." Now Vasile Năstase, also head of the American Union in Romania, has called the president's most recent remarks "an extremely serious insult" to the country's tiny American population whose membership is fully recognized, having lived in Romania for decades. If this concern is deemed false, the story of an American's headline, the president could face a fine and a criminal record. ■

Inside Iran, a small flame of remembrance

BY MICHAEL PETROW • The sixth anniversary of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks passed with official silence between the United States and Iran better than it has been since U.S. President George W. Bush designated



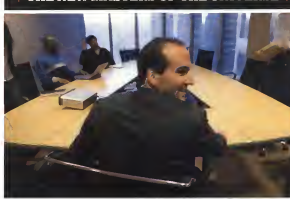
AHMADINEJAD: Amid talk of war with the U.S., a disident hope

Iran as a charter member of the Axis of Evil. The United States accuses Iran of interfering in both Afghanistan and Iraq, while Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad promises that Iran will fill the void in Iraq left by America's collapsing power. Many analysts believe war between the two nations is becoming inevitable.

And yet in an unlikely corner of Iran, the anniversary of the Sept. 11 attacks was marked by a small but lively national radio broadcast at the Gohardasht Prison in the suburbs of Tehran held the ceremony "in the face of great pressure by prison officials," according to prisoner Alimohammad Khatami, who sent a message to Maclean's through several intermediaries. "I was successful in organizing a small memorial ceremony in the prison grounds and I of the Gohardasht Prison.... and to celebrate the remembrance of those who lost their lives Sept. 11 attacks," Khatami writes. "In conclusion, I would like to urge the United States Government to continue its fight against international terrorism."

The Gohardasht Prison holds several key members of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran, Iran's largest opposition group, which has been officially listed as a terrorist organization in Canada since 2005. Located in Ottawa, it was until recently based in Iraq, had an alliance with Saddam Hussein, and was accused of gun collaboration with the Taliban in Afghanistan. Ahmadinejad also has a record of dissent, such as his ousting of Javad Khatami, who has been in and out of prison since 1999 for protesting against Iran's ruling theocracy. ■

THE NEW MASTERS OF THE UNIVERSE



ABONYI IS THE KING OF GUY who works 263 days a year and finds vacations stressful. His high-octane self-confidence keeps him going.

It's not all fun and games

Lorne Abonyi: the deal-maker behind Fun Technologies



A MACLEAN'S SPECIAL SERIES BY PETER C. NEWMAN

A daring breed of Canadian entrepreneurs is emerging as the economy shifts postwar. They are the new masters of our corporate universe, and they are changing what we do and

how we do it. Among typically Canadian, they operate below radar range and seldom boast about their accomplishments—unlike Wild West's gun-slinging high-fives who were tagged with the original title by author Tom Wolfe.
The new style of these traders spend most of their spare time away from home, pursuing not just new companies but new tech where their time, company space, customer their own language. Closer to tech with reality (even when it's virtual) than their previous professions, these and some young men and

women are creating more of their app than their geography. They remain stubbornly Canadian, but are constantly in flight and fun. The globe is their cyber; their idea of long-term planning is next Wednesday's power breakfast, and if doing business ever meant being the member of a private club, now it means being hooked into a network.
They are highly strung individuals with limitless energy who know exactly what they want and how to get it—also at the cost of never slowing down long enough to be called



Fighting over Alberta's oil windfall



WILDCAT STRIKERS are protesting Alberta's restrictive labour code

BY NICHOLAS KOEHLER • After voting 97 per cent in favour of Alberta's unionized corporations, suppliers and retailers did something last week that hasn't happened in the province's construction sector for 30 years: they walked off their jobs, many of them in the hectic oil patch. Yet it was an illegal strike—and a messy business. By midweek, the labour board had ordered it ended, at pain of police enforcement, and, as the *Proctor of Santa Prospero*, Canadian National Resources reportedly fined 200 labourers who pushed the disruption. "It's like a strike," says Neil Tishinsky, head of the contractors' association. "It's the trading of the industry."

Driving the job action is Alberta's labour code, adopted in 1980 to make building sector strikes—the union's slogan, anyway—negotiable. It says that if three quarters of contractors union voters sign deals, the rest must submit to arbitrators, over an appealing process. The engineers had just missed that threshold. Initially they'd sought an \$11 hourly raise—industrial expenses rose 6%—but they were rebuffed to protest the code. Union head Murray Pappas' rhetoric "condemned not endorsed" the action, yet remained ambivalent. "I've never felt more proud to be a union leader in my life," he told *Maclean's*.

Such sentiments aren't good news for the oil sands, whose output for much of Alberta's \$150 billion in industrial construction. The sands now employ 35,000—up 10 to 15% in a labour crunch—but will not recover double that by 2010 given current oil drilling, says *Thomson Capital's* Chris Feltus. Unions say case developers to rethink plant and communities, chilling investments. All this hands unions, says Feltus, "a very big stick" in the fight for members of Alberta's wealth. "Working people really haven't seen a whole lot of benefits from this boom," says Feltus. "I think that's just the beginning of a long story." ■

Google runs madly off in all directions

COLIN CAMPBELL • When adventure Sove Posters screaming at the beach, searchers turned to an unorthodox tool to go to find the wreckage of his single engine plane, thought to have crashed somewhere in Nevada.

They looked to Google. Google released open data satellite images of Nevada so that virtually anyone with a computer could see the company's satellite imagery software, called Google Earth, in the hour. By the end of last week, Fosse had been found. But searches had located about an hour ago another crash site.

Google Earth is just one of the countless arms the Internet search giant has spread in recent years. Google now has a hand in everything from advertising and email to digital libraries and online video. Google might seem to be a company testing off in all directions, but it's been a company of one-way off in all directions. Google's latest Google Maps data is up and so is its stock. Google's share price has gone up nearly 30 per cent in the past year, to nearly \$150.

Google's latest data project involves putting up US\$100 million in prize money for the first person to find a robot on the moon. And last week it launched a website called Google Maps. The site of the three have been buying nations about the globe, a Google only those that would pass the way



GOOGLEERS have been searching the Nevada desert for Fosse's

for an entry into the wireless business in competition with Apple and others.

There has been some isolated griping on Wall Street that Google's long-term plan by perusing so many divergent lines of business that with most of its \$10 billion in revenue is being poured into online advertising, and with 45 per cent of that year, Google has the cash to do pretty much whatever it wants. ■

Bringing the Internet to farm country

BY JASON KIRBY • The steady furrows sited for keeping cattle feed and, and, apparently, for accessing the latest video of young athletes calling back at themselves, too.

While high-speed Internet is a luxury urban Canadians take for granted, that's not the case for many rural dwellers. Now a tiny family-run company is teaming up with farmers to install wireless transmission on sites and grain elevators in parts of south-western Ontario. Cable



SILEO Wireless's transmitters are sitting atop farmers' silos

at a decent clip, but not in Ontario's farm country. "Rural Ontario is not so good compared to what's happening in other areas," says Toronto telecom entrepreneur Ben Grant. They're talking about the fact that there are no signals, such as building a 30 m tower in the backyard and attaching a wireless receiver to the top, but that's not practical for most.

Seeing an opportunity, Silo Wireless stepped in with the low cost option of using signals from structures in place back Internet signals from the nearby city of London. In return, farmers get free Internet and a future out of the package. Silo is run by Andrew Watson and his wife, Cynthia, who filed city life three years ago and officially launched their company in June. She describes the business as "a little bit of everything." It's not just the city you have every option imaginable, but out there we're forgotten," says Cynthia. "It comes a little bit in people's mouths." Hence the steady stream of calls coming in. So far Silo has installed 150 customers and has a focused marketing of online. Small farms are by Internet providers, but the Watsons are confident they can turn small farms into a thriving business.

Grant says using people is an important solution. "These people will know what every one else is talking about," he says. ■

A CRACKHEAD'S CUNNING GAMBIT

A crack addict says he's disabled, and eviction would be discrimination

BY RAFAEL ELTON • You know your neighbour's feelings when you step over a crack in the hallway, see people shooing up the stairs, and find junkies hovering in the entrance, waiting to dip into bed you who you come home.

That's been life in a downtown Toronto social housing building for more than a year. The many refugees and low-income families who live in the previously funded complex have grown used to strong, out-looking people hanging on doors at all hours because one tenant on the top floor has a close relationship with crack and prefers to work from home, so to speak.

Nowadays to say the other tenant is honest, it's his neighbour's insurance. The tenant's complaint prompted management to try to remedy the situation, and Judith Smith, the building's property manager, was an eviction order in the Ontario Rental Housing Tribunal. But just as she was about to get the order to enforce it, the eviction was stopped. The tenant had hired a lawyer on a legal aid certificate and launched a lawsuit at the Ontario Superior Court of Justice. In the appeal, he argued that he's a disabled, an addict, an addict to crack. Kidding him out of his home for this, he concludes, would be tantamount to discrimination against the disabled and so he should be accommodated and allowed to stay. While the appeal was launched in January 2006, the court date has yet to be. Until it's heard, the tenant can't be forced out.

The case draws the spotlight on a larger debate in the legal community that's raising questions about what's considered a disability and in the process, raising what some consider a human rights issue. In 1996, an Ontario Human Rights Commission board first ruled that alcoholism was a disability that had to be accommodated; it came down in favour of a welfare worker at Imperial Oil who had been reassigned from his job after drinking too much on the job, even though he hadn't had a drink in seven years. The employee argued he'd been discriminated against on the basis of a disability, and the commission agreed.

Now what happens under the disability umbrella could include a host of behaviours for which a person used to be held second-class: regular drug use, uncontrolled gambling, and even

compulsive gambling. An employer could be called upon to simply accommodate workers with these kinds of problems, rather than simply firing them out the door as was the case with a government job. Drug use, however, has been limited and is a recognized disability. And a similar argument has been made about porn use in labour arbitrations.

That's where things got controversial, says Andrew Porter, a human rights and employment lawyer. Human rights legislation exists



THE DISABILITY argument's been made with alcohol and porn addiction. Why not drugs?

to protect people who are in the minority and at risk of being discriminated against, he explains. Because no one chooses his or her sex, gender, sexual orientation or disability, people discriminated against on these fronts deserve not only to be protected but to be accommodated. That recent society must adapt to these differences—by making sure street corner toilets are cleaned, for instance, not all people who use the sidewalk can move about easily. Right now, it also means that an employee who uses medical marijuana has the right to light up in the office—now York University professors who suffer from health problems successfully argued last year.

When it comes to drugs (or porn, or gam-

bling), it's not as straightforward because of the role choice plays. One could argue that an addict isn't a choice, but what about the first pull of crack, for example, when the person wasn't addicted? "Where along the line do we say that was a choice for which you are culpable?" says Porter. "Do we have to accommodate someone whose addiction constitutes a criminal offence?" Depending on the case, the answer could be yes. At the very least, any claimant whether the addicted person deserves to be accommodated. According to human rights lawyer David Baker, though, what keeps things in check is the point of end-of-the-road—the point at which accommodation becomes too difficult or dangerous (think of no schools) (play) or at

which its economic impact would affect the viability of the enterprise) (such as transferring an older store into a wheelchair accessible workplace would bankrupt the business).

Judith Smith says he's been reaching that point long ago. Instead of using government funds to improve the building, management has had to use them to hire private security and install cameras. "It's an awful situation," she says. And with no cash on hand, the other residents can only wait. David Smith, the lawyer who represents the tenant, shrugs. "As a lawyer, your client is not a constant for Mr. Conspicuous," he says. "You can't count on a client to drive home for lawyers, he says, but he will deserve a house of his own."



PLAINTIFFS TO PUT SETTLEMENT UP THEIR NOSES

The small users of Windows will enjoy discounted prices for the next 30 years, thanks to a class-action suit over alleged U.S. Inc., makers of Copernicus and Intel brand of suit. Allegations in the suit, brought by Jason Feuerherd, found that U.S. had tried to monopolize the suit market in the software. U.S. will receive compensation to help offset a lawsuit. Feuerherd will get an additional \$100,000 and his lawyers will pocket \$157 million.

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THE BIGGEST STUPID: Personnel buy prices health profiles over health doctors and so for

DRUGS JUST FOR YOU

Genetic testing can tell what drugs work best, and fastest, for whom

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES There are two enduring strengths of medicine, and there is a major pitfall. One is the promise of truly personal and customized care. Now, thanks to rapid advances in genetic testing and analysis, physicians are gradually unlocking the secrets to make the dream a reality. Just one caveat that can tell doctors who is at the greatest risk for developing cancer, Alzheimer's disease and cystic fibrosis, among others. But the latest, and perhaps most important breakthrough is happening in the field of pharmacogenetics—how that novel has different individuals metabolize various drugs.

Next month, the MadCan Clinic in Toronto will become the first clinic in Ontario offering clients the chance to take pharmacogenetic testing, in hopes of fine-tuning drug therapies, and eliminating the often-frustrating process of finding the right drug and right dose, without living a host of side effects.

"We've known for a long time that people react differently to treatment, but what we've only learned in the past few years is that people metabolize medication differently," explains Dr. Lea Vlahov, a clinical psychiatrist at Toronto's North York General Hospital, and a co-scientist to MedCan. "A lot of people are coming to us because they've been on various medications and have had trouble—either they're not working or they've experienced really bad side effects. This [testing] even then, and their doctor can make sure

to determine what drugs are likely to work best and at what dosage."

That promises to be especially important when it comes to prescribing in outpatient settings—a process that can be troubling for people at mental distress, because it often takes weeks before doctor and patient know if a new drug is having any effect. Already many top U.S. hospitals, including the famed Mayo Clinic in Minnesota, are using pharmacogenetic tests to custom tailor their treatment. And last month, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration began recommending generic testing before doctors prescribe certain common blood thinners.

At MacCar, the turning corner comes down to a simple blood test, sent to a lab in Louisville, Ky., and the results are typically returned within five days. Doctors then interpret the data in light of family history, details about diet, other medications and a long list of other variables. The result is a detailed personal health profile that can help establish a treatment plan with the best chance of success.

If there is a danger in all this, it's that the flood of clinicians over-generously telling never-never patients with unrealistic expectations. And while MedCan is very circumspect about the promises it makes, many Internet clinics

have popped up, causing us on the hopes of patients desperate for quick relief." A lot of the blame now falls on the medical community in the States and take these blood tests, come back with their results and say 'which drug should I take?'" says Dr. Anthony Levitt, physician-in-chief at Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre in Toronto. "In this regard, there's still a little bit of art left in medicine. But, it's useful for us to know whether a person is going to be a slow metabolizer or a fast metabolizer. That's a fraction of the picture."

Wolber agrees, and says it's important to bear in mind the limitations of the technology, as well as its advantages. "There may be science fiction ideas out there that people will get a precursor that says 'take these drugs at this time, at this dosage, and your life will be perfect'—that's not going to happen, but it's still very useful," she says. "It's a tool for patients to help personalize the care they're getting, rather than relying on the 'off-the-rack' prescription approach."

Germany, dispensing with that "selfish-rick" approach is the ultimate promise held in pharmacogenomics, and other genetic systems. "When I started medical school we were always taught about the 70 kg, middle-aged man," Volsber explains. "Most medical practice is still based fundamentally on calculations based on that 70 kg man. The idea behind personalized medicine is really about taking every patient's individual character into account. And pharmacogenetics is part of that—we are in the doctrine."

Already the terrifying possibilities are coming into focus: tests that can predict the onset of disease, and can identify preputious treatments to small problems before they can take hold. Applied to clinical trials, genetic testing could one day answer the vexing question of why certain experimental drugs work wonders for some, while triggering potentially fatal side effects in others.

Well, going to that point will take time, and money. MedCatis genetic testing services start at about \$1,000 and run as high as \$2,000 depending on which genetic enzymes are being tested for, and they will only provide a fraction of the information a doctor needs to treat you. But as the science progresses, and the desire to tap into that wealth of knowledge spreads, you can bet that, for many of MedCatis patients, money will become a moot point. ■

Now here's a real cheating scandal

Forget the NFL. The big-money, truly audacious cheaters are overseas.

BY JASON MEHRRY • Though he never became the sex symbol he was supposed to, Australian actor Paul Hogan did much as a very important lesson about cultural perspective, most notably in a scene from the first *Crocodile Hunter* movie. Approached by a New York stranger wielding a machete, Michael J. Dundee produces a huge Bowie knife, famously uttering, "That's not a knife. That's a knife."

The world of professional sports had its own Dauder moment late last week. On the same day the NFL sued the New England Patriots and head coach Bill Belichick US\$750,000 (plus an early debt pick) for a spitting incident, FIA, the governing body for Formula One racing, dished McLaren an impressive \$100-million penalty (plus disqualification from the season championship) for a list of athletic espionage against Ferrari.

Sporting companies are hard to connect in the NBA, the Minnesota Timberwolves were awarded \$5.1 million (and several draft picks) for wearing league safety cap sleeves, while Dallas Mavericks owner Mark Cuban was once penalized half a million for questioning the competitive of league referees. For \$100 million? Northing immediately. Periwinkle's team, only 23 of the 122 sports in the NFL, NBA, NHL, and Major League Baseball have payrolled due total more than \$100 million.

1981, McLaren chairman Ron Dennis seemed unmoved. "If you read our accounts, we turn over roughly \$400 million to \$500 million a year, and we are debt-free, so obviously we are a very strong company with phenomenal growth." The British press instantly melted. McLaren's \$100m line will sound a lot to the outside world, but Dennis will not be asking for more to pay, wrote the *Guardian's* Richard Williams. "McLaren are among the sport's biggest earners and biggest spenders, and the few will make no difference to their activities."

There is a difference, then, between a few

on numbers of its finances, Mel Aron Madsen for the current year at \$444.1 million, the highest of any listed. The Madsen Group, the town's parent company, is part ownership by Danes, by Czechs and by the Bahraini Murnahmud Holding Company (an extension of the Kingdom of Bahrain) and is sponsored by Vodafone (one of the world's largest telecom multinationals companies). "Given if it takes 100 million off next year's budget, this will only put it on a par with rivals such as Honda and BMW," says Renske Mosey co-author, Caroline Reid.

On a practical level too, the NFL would be unable by compulsion. Where the Patriots are accused of sending a relatively unimportant 26-year old staffer to type the hand signals of opposing coaches, McElwain managed to acquire a whopping 780-page dossier from a disgruntled Ferrari employee. The information from the dossier concerned such matters as weight distributions, braking and a myriad gas Ferrari used to inflate their tires.

What's more, the European version of Spyglass has spun off a separate scandal—this one involving McLaren.

HOGEI POLICE #1 espionage penalties make Belichick's (below) free look small

and a fine. And a lesson in cultural perspective is perhaps necessary. In 2030, shortly after Rodriguez signed a 10-year, \$352 million contract with the Texas Rangers that is widely considered the most lucrative in sports history. But, on a per year basis, he is not suddenly less than Kimi Räikkönen, a grand driver in F1, who is paid \$12 and \$10 million Ferrari, depending on the Räikkönen is but the second in F1 history, the legend

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lores, the highest paid driver in F1, who makes somewhere between \$12 and \$13 million per year with Ferrari, depending on the outcome. And Rubens is but the second-highest paid racer in F1 history, the legendary Michael Schumacher having reportedly earned \$16.5 million at his peak.

According to the statistics of Nevada Money,

CONCLUSION NO BARRIER FOR QUARTERBACK
 Matt Klimek, a quarterback for the Carroll Lions, was knocked out of the second quarter of last weekend's game against Miami. He was diagnosed with a concussion, the third of his life. "That was the worst my head has ever felt," Klimek says. "I was out of it. Blood coherence." Yet by the fourth quarter he was back in the game, claiming his "hand of God" had restored his scattered noggin. Klimek then led the Lions to a 20-7 victory.



THE BACK PAGES

stein

Welcome to
Piedraiz

R. 10

film

Some People's
"Wild" ride

R. 11

tv

81: On-line
a love story

R. 12

bazaar

The money-
proof house

R. 13

fame

Cosmo thyse
life beyond

R. 17

help

Please, pay
for Lindsay

R. 19



art

"That's it," says Mark Beechler, peeling his pickup truck off the road. He parks in the corner of a windswept farmer's field in King Township, about an hour north of Toronto. Grabbing his camera, Beechler hops out and starts taking aerial shots of the recently ploughed earth. An urban architect at a Toronto firm, Beechler is part of a stream of art lovers who come to this part of rural Ontario, knocking on doors and wandering through fields in search of a largely unknown work by one of the world's greatest living artists.

Half a kilometer in from the road, Beechler enters a sea of field and climbs a crest in the land. A series of low, weathered concrete walls comes into view, rising over 15 acres across a small valley in the middle of the field. Though the land has been tilled, the tower has kept a small distance from the walls, which are encircled with shrubs, hares, goldenrod and wild raspberry bushes.

It's art history hidden in a field

Art lovers want to protect a pivotal but largely unknown work by a 'titan of sculpture'

BY JORDAN TIMM

most worries some King Township residents are the loss of the old quarry site where the tower is to be built.

In 1970, the tower's already considerable stature has been augmented this summer by a 40-year retrospective of his work mounted by the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The New York Times hailed the show as "a landmark, by a titan of sculpture, one of the last great modernists in an age of minor talents." Yet, at the time, more than 15,000 in a single day, have viewed MoMA's halls, drawn by the massive construction of several steel structures that have forged Serra's reputation—they're found in buildings, museums and public spaces around the world. Toronto's Pearson International Airport shows them. The only provincial exhibit at the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, at Serra's The Matter of Time. The large second floor gallery in the new MoMA building was designed with Serra's work in mind, and features specially reinforced floors to accommodate the weight of his sculpture. Two of the pieces on display at MoMA sold for US\$12 million, and another for \$10 million.

Serra has always commanded such dizzying prices. In 1970, when he began work on Sky, he was not beginning to make his mark on the art world. The son of a Spanish emigrant who worked as a pipefitter in San Francisco, Serra worked in day after day to help pay for his undergraduate education, then studied fine arts as a master's student at Yale. In the late '60s, he began turning heads with sculptures made of scrap rubber and metal, and with series of works in which he splashed molten lead, was the corner of galleries and museums. At Serra began to explore the way his sculptures related to the space around them, however, he started seeking outdoor sites for his work.

Roger Davidson, a Toronto art collector whose family was in land development, was one of Serra's early patrons. "He was kind of a young, wealthy, business fellow," says Serra. "He was often difficult, actually. He had a hard time making a decision." Serra had to convince Davidson to let him build a piece on a tract of farmland the collector owned in King Township, overlooking the deal by offering Davidson two steel sculptures in exchange. The land was being used as a grow potatoes at the time, and Serra agreed that the field would continue to be farmed.



SERRA'S ART, SKY (opposite) and The Matter of Time at the Guggenheim in Spain

The crowd is called Sky. It's an early piece by the renowned American sculptor Richard Serra, but if you stroll off upon it by chance you might think you'd simply come across the foundations of an abandoned building. Two sets of three walls, each five feet high and eight inches thick, map the corners of the land on either side of the field's lowest point. Each wall is sunk below the earth, leaving out of the land as slopes away. On this, his second visit to the site, Beechler will spend over an hour walking on and around the sculpture, taking photos and exploring the way the piece plays off the rolling farmland. "It's amazing, I think, because it's so foreign," he says. "It's almost like the walls just came up out of the earth."

Though the site feels alien, it's hardly

removed from the real world. On the north edge of the field, two polished blue metal rings are sunk into the ground. They house two wells, installed as part of a groundwater saving effort. As Toronto grows out of control, and now housing prices creep in a steady march north of the city, King Township is building a new water tower to accommodate the inevitable growth. The expansion develop-

PHOTOGRAPH BY JORDAN TIMM FOR THE TORONTO STAR

"I went down with a woman named Juan Jesus, who's a video performing artist, and we both walked the field for two or three days," Serra says. Though he hasn't been to King Township in about 20 years, he recalls the site vividly. "We decided that we would find the boundary [for the sculpture] by seeing when each of us was no longer in each other's sight. When our heads disappeared over the horizon, that's when we defined the edge of the piece, and that's where we started."

Serra commissioned a professional survey of the land, and designed and built Shift over the next two years, simultaneously working on another, much smaller site at the residence of the wealthy Pulitzer family in suburban St. Louis. They were the first artworks in which Serra used his sculpture to map a site spatially, rather than producing sculptures that were just objects. "The rest of the pieces I've done that have found inclusion in a landscape really stem with Shift and the Pulitzer piece," Serra says. "And if it wasn't for Shift I wouldn't have even completed the Pulitzer piece, and vice versa. Those two pieces really are the kind of catalyst for all the work that came after." Serra points out that despite its low profile in the landscape, the King Township sculpture has been included in every major catalog of his art. "For me, it's one of those beautiful pieces."

It's exactly that experience that has made some King Township residents so eager to preserve the sculpture, and sabotage it from the silence into which it's lapsed. In the '70s, when Serra was still relatively unknown, the Davidson family sold the property on which Shift was built to a developer. The land registry made no mention of the artwork's existence, and the old structure in the firm's field became simply a quarter of the township's landscape. "At the time, nobody thought anything of it," says Hajed Mathews, the current vice president for land development at Great Gulf Homes, the Toronto-based developer that purchased the property. "When I saw it, 15, 20 years ago, I thought it was just a leftover foundation." Which begs the question, how did Shift survive? Why wouldn't a bunch of concrete with nothing in the middle of it get ignored and land have been demolished? "It's not cheap," Mathews says. "To take it out means you've got to take bricks and bulldozers and jackhammers and blast the thing out of there. So it was left."

The developers didn't realize the value of the structure they had inadvertently acquired. Though it's notoriously difficult to place a value on in situ landscape works like Shift, Serra's studio instructs for Mathews that were the artist to build a project of his style



When he saw the prof's slide, he was stunned to recognize his childhood playground

and scale today, the commission would be valued between US\$4 and \$10 million.

Clove Mordella happened upon Shift at a nine-year old kid, shortly after his family moved to King Township in the early '70s. He played hockey on a nearby pond in the winter, and used to romp with his friends in the fields and brush around the sculpture. Years later, when he was sitting in on a class his mother was taking for a Ph.D. in philosophy, a professor showed a slide of the sculpture during a discussion about minimalist art. Mordella was stunned to recognize his childhood playground.

He started reading about Serra, and started spending hours at the sculpture with his camera and tripod. After some years living out of the area, Mordella moved back to King Township in 2003 and decided to write an article about Serra and Shift for the local newspaper. "It was obvious," he says. "If I made it more widely known, would it have a detrimental effect? Would it get loaded cars in the night, or would something happen to it? But ultimately, I made a decision that people have to know about this thing."

Mordella wasn't the only King resident who knew the provenance of the concrete walls, but his article was the catalyst for a group of residents to take action. Members of both the King Township Historical Society

and Heritage King, the committee that advises many cultural and heritage issues, got organized. Despite protection under the provincial Oak Ridges Moraine Protection Act and assurances from Great Gulf—"This particular land is not under development consideration and probably never will be, because it's Oak Ridges Moraine," says Mathews—they are concerned the pressures of urban sprawl may someday become overwhelming, and are working to have Shift and the land it occupies designated a cultural heritage site. "Once it's designated, then no one can disturb it," says Elaine Robertson, the chairperson of Heritage King. "We want to keep it as it is, and also have it available to the public long into the future."

The question of public access to Shift won't be simple to resolve, however. "It's not permitting people to just go on it willy-nilly, [because of] insurance, liability, the farming and damage to the crops."

But the heritage groups and Mordella are optimistic they can reach an agreement with Great Gulf for more than just the one annual day of public access to the site that the developer recently offered at a municipal council meeting. And they have an ally in Serra. The artist has a residence on Cape Breton Island, in Robertson's hometown. She connected with him a few summers ago, and he is now keeping a close eye on the fate of his sculpture, and on the question of access—since Shift's sister piece is sitting in the backyard of a home in St. Louis, Serra hopes the Ontario piece will be more available to the public.

In the meantime, however, the field it sits in won't be marked by any sign or plaque, the details of the sculpture's exact location will continue to travel via word of mouth among Serra buffs like Mark Bancher, who arranged permission from the property's owner for his visit. "It's a strange way to experience art," Bancher says. "There's no guided tour, and no headsets." And it makes you question, as this happened to be art? What exactly is that? With that, he lies down in the plowed earth and stares up at the tops of one of Shift's battered concrete walls. ■



NOW SHOWING... TOOTHPICK ART

This image of a drinking horse emerges from a 14-in.-diameter two-by-four-metre mosaic created out of toothpicks by Albanian artist Selma Sivri. Combining the sharp and blunt ends of oak, poplar and bamboo toothpicks, Sivri worked 12 hours a day for 40 days to complete the 3-D mosaic, which is the world's largest piece of toothpick art. Previously, the artist created a portrait of Leonardo da Vinci out of nails.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

LOST WORLDS. BROUGHT BACK TO LIFE.

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WITH DEEN pointing the camera, Harish is such an affable, generous presence you want to wrap him up and take him home.

Making 'Into the Wild' even wilder

Sean Penn strips away the book's moral ambivalence and aims for the whitewater

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON In the spring of 1954, a 34-year-old doctor and a 31-year-old actress hitchhiked to Alaska, north of Mt. McKinley, and walked alone into the wilderness to live off the land. This decomposed body was discovered in an abandoned bus four months later. The young man's death marked the end of an odyssey that began two years earlier when MacDonald, after graduating with honors from the University of California, moved to the floor of a life of privilege. He donated his entire \$15,000 in savings to Oxfam, drove west, then abandoned his car in the Mojave Desert, burned his money and seduced/abused Alexander Soperstung. Now he may have finally achieved the transcendence he was looking for. Portrayed with remarkable charm by Emilio Fedeles, MacDonald has been mythic and controversial ever since. Peter's life is the best, a movie based on Jon Krakauer's 1996 bestseller.

Reader: It is to complain that reviews are essentially weaker than the books that inspire them. Here, that's not the case. While somewhat lessingly faithful to the book, and to most of the known facts about McCandless, *Into the Wild* differs in altogether different, and more endearing, experience.

There has been much discussion about McCandless. Was he an explorer on a spiritual quest, or a careless thrill-seeker who squandered his life? Alaska locals tend to dismiss him as another blundering, ill-equipped tourist who painted himself into a fatal corner. Weighing the evidence in his book, *Into the Wild*, mounts an investigation that concludes McCandless was a visionary who was in a victim's mind of his demise.

The movie disagrees with the argument

A photograph showing a man and a woman seated on a dark, possibly leather, bench. The woman is on the left, wearing a light-colored, sleeveless dress and high heels. The man is on the right, wearing a light-colored suit. They are both looking down at something in their hands. They are surrounded by several people in dark suits, some of whom are standing and looking towards them. The setting appears to be an indoor event or a formal gathering.

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WE'RE STALKING **KIPPER SUTHERLAND**
He wasn't just shooting a thriller; Sutherland was heading a real-life experience. While making *Minors in Romania*, Sutherland was overwhelmed by eager fans, but the Canadian-born star apparently considers his movie set to have quasi-sacred qualities. Thus, when the Romanians got too boisterous, Sutherland allegedly exclaimed "I'll arrange such in my new on my new in tell I will back home. They in my breath. This is my first breath."

He wasn't just shooting a thriller, Rutherford was having a religious experience. While making *Minor in Romania*, Rutherford was overwhelmed by angel fire, but the Canadian-born star apparently considers his movie art to have extra-sacred qualities. Thus, when the Romanians got too boisterous, Rutherford allegedly exclaimed, "If anyone gets in my way on my way [to sell] I will beatback them. This is my church, This is my E-kling church."

A group of men in dark suits are standing around a man and a woman who are seated on a large, dark, abstract, boat-like sculpture. The man is wearing a light-colored suit, and the woman is wearing a light-colored dress. They are in a modern interior space with large windows in the background.

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The cover of the November issue of FLARE magazine features a woman in a red dress. The text on the cover includes "NEW! COOKBOOK BY FRANCESCA HUNTER", "FALL LIDOKS", and "A Fall 1995 issue".

100

100

WHAT MOTIVATED THE CHANGE, observers wonder: is he chasing eternal youth, like a rock star? Is it renewed virility he's after?

Celebrities from Castro to Bonarrotti know the *chance and full loss when they closed to*

WE DONALDSON SEEKIN' • Hand-drawn letters, brown marks are all Schröder's own. So what's drawing a general who has not used the distraction of others' looks and

Ozama, how could you? The high priest of Aztec leaders too understand the curse of its careless reckless look of the wizard, and a

sheela. Entertainment goes paid to delight the But Otumalu's not a royal nor a politician guy may be a moneyer but fame is a bigger

the greater the demand for sustainability, yet

He'll never tell us. But this much we know

Yet where cameras sisking, there'll always be

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ROGERS

help



BURNING CELEBS Lindsay Lohan, Peter Onorati, Peter Onorati's wife, all smiling. Hollywood isn't a bad place, goes the HPN mantra, just horribly misquoted

Getting God to work on Lindsay

When Tinseltown celebrities stumble, the Hollywood Prayer Network kicks into action

BY MARTIN PATRICHON • Shortly after Paris Hilton checked herself into a Los Angeles hotel to serve her three-week sentence for driving with a suspended license, the 3,000 members of the Hollywood Prayer Network went to work covering her soul. They prayed the would stop covering about like a spoiled brat, and exorcise alcohol, strong liquor, and sex tapes—on short, that she look beyond the damning superficiality of her life and find true happiness in Jesus Christ. “It would be wonderful if the world found the Lord in her search for spiritual truth,” read the call sent out to HPN members.

And indeed, their prayers were answered. “I’m not the same person I was. I need more dumb. It was an act. I am 26 years old but that act is no longer mine,” Hilton said. But her Walters shortly after her release. Instead of the parties and arguments and undergarment law suits, she would devote her time to breast cancer or multiple sclerosis causes. “God has given me a new chance,” said the head hermit.

At the Hollywood Prayer Network there was much to cheer about: with a prominent and ever-winning celebrity following, Hilton’s welcoming audience, Tinseltown was that much closer to God. “I said that the prayers we received made a difference,” says HPN co-founder and president Karen Cowell, a Christian television and music producer who has made her name in life to pray for Hilton, Lindsay Lohan, Johnny Depp, Britney Spears, and Dakota Fanning, among other Hollywood types.

HPN’s aim is to trigger a cultural shift in the very place Christians have long considered a cesspool of greed and immorality. Hollywood isn’t a bad place, goes the HPN

mantra, it’s just as horribly misquoted as your average weekly harried African tribe, complete with its own dialect (just try to read the trade paper), its life (Oscar), and Gospel message (the people of the HPN website says, “90 per cent of Hollywood decision makers are Jewish”).

The trouble evangelical Christians have with Hollywood is the fact that it affects America’s reputation well beyond its own borders (HIV is perfectly galling, according to Cowell). But being a Christian, as many evangelicals do, won’t solve the problem, only prayer will. “It’s not that these people are trying to create, create messages that destroy the world, that’s just their world view,” says Cowell.

As part of its prayer program, HPN sends out a newsletter to each of its members but those celebrities the HPN board has deemed in need of prayer (The faithful need not identify themselves; instead, they can pray as part of HPN’s “Incognito Prayer Team.”) The suggestions read like something taken out of the end of a Lindsay Lohan novel, only with a heavy dose of biblical names. “Let’s pray for Dakota Fanning and her family,” reads a recent missive. “Focus all over the world, along with her parents, for allowing her to film a somewhat rape scene in the film *Thirteen*. Dakota and other child actors need our prayers.”

ers of protection, wisdom and for God’s presence and guidance in their lives.” Another message was for Tim Hutton. “Please pray that Tim comes to know Jesus and His love and how much more fulfilled his life will be with Him beside her,” wrote Cowell in July.

As part of its children’s ministry, the group also sends out a prayer calendar with each day designated to a certain celebrity. Some are better known than others—Aug. 14 and 15 were devoted to *State of Jack and Judy* star Cole Sprouse; Aug. 16 and 17 were set aside for Johnny Depp—but all are given the same treatment. Actor Lucas Grabeel, star of the recently released *High School Musical 2*, was listed as the subject of two prayer days in late August.

“What’s crazy that they have a schedule,” he said, adding that he was raised a Christian. “One day I moved out to Los Angeles, I fell behind a little bit.”

He certainly isn’t the only one. Barely a month after being released from jail, and despite several photos of her posing with small children and reuniting in a comparatively domestic new place, Hilton was recently spotted ducking into a surgery at Hugh Hefner’s Playboy Mansion. Her jailhouse conversion, a *New York Post* report suggested, was part of an elaborate PR campaign to salvage her reputation. She has a clothing line to sell, after all. In Hollywood, it seems God is as much an accessory to anything else. ■



BEST IMPROVED: BRITNEY SPEARS
The swelling waistband gap that has been often cited as a first sign by the likes of America’s top Christian Cowell and his fellow judges. “We decided we can bring Britney back,” Cowell says. Following Spears’ much-mocked bikini-clad performance at a recent video awards show, Cowell & Co. made their offer. John Omi would be a kitchen overhaul. “We plan to buy her underpants,” Cowell says, “get her bigger shorts to perform in.”

TOM WALKER

1954-2007

He had a knack for climbing telephone poles, and built an almost-perfect country home

Tom Walker was born to Arthur and Vera (Siekman) Walker on July 11, 1954. The second of four children, Tom was the oldest boy and had the most intense of the family's farm near the town of Charing Cross, Ont., where they grew tomatoes, corn, soybeans, wheat and, for a time, raised dairy cattle, pigs and rabbits. Tom was a constant for the Walker children, but they found moments for entertainment. They watched the *Ed Sullivan Show* on Sunday nights, and like everyone else were mesmerized by the Beatles. "Tom cranked on playing jokes in the evening in our room with his sister and younger brother."

His appearance dimmed. A short, bookish student who became someone around president of Kitchener District High School, one of his duties was to play the national anthem over the PA system at the meetings. One morning, six days away in anticipation of G Canada only to hear first-hand the feedback later in terms of the Star Spangled Banner, which school officials cut off mid-speech.

Tom studied mathematics at the University of Windsor and planned to be a teacher, only to be sidetracked by his summer job with Bell Canada. It seemed he had a knack for climbing telephone poles, and his boss convinced him to stay on. He married with full for the rest of his life, eventually moving to management. In 1976 he took a passing in South America, and made "Thursday Night Live" a regular, busy after school the walled field compound.

In 1978 he married a woman he'd met at the company. They couple had two boys, Jordan and Brady. His wife had her own problems and Tom was a disciplinarian. "The last judgmental person on the face of the earth," as his best friend, Peter Price, says. "Tom's wife came after the divorce in 1980. Tom's sister, Joy, studying to be a mathematician at the University of Guelph, brought her brother to parties stacked with single women. Tom didn't complain."

At one of these parties, Tom met an entire evening at the corner talking to Linda Harris, also coming out of a difficult relationship. "If there are men like that out there, boy, I'm doing the right thing by moving on with my life," Linda thought to herself. The pair moved slowly, but it was clear, so Jordan and Brady, married Linda, and so one day they married in 1996 in Guelph. In 1999 a young man, dressed behind the wheel by a light with his girlfriend, didn't see

Linda run left in front of him as an attraction in Kitchener. When he tried, where she and Tom had moved. She suffered a concussion. Linda raised Australian shepherd dogs in their backyard, training them to run a course of about 20 obstacles as she ran alongside. They needed space, and in 2003 the couple bought seven acres in Walker Township, about 15 minutes outside of town. It was perfect for the driveway. It came out onto the road just below a blind hill, and Tom knew that people tended to drive too fast along that road.

He cut down the trees and changed the driveway into a U-shape that you could see clearly, and no one would have to cut blindly.

Jogging was an excuse to run his dog and visit the neighbors. Tom would cut the driveway with his dog, turn right and post the New Dundee golf course and the forest, then up his neighbors' hillside. The three kids were small would often take him home. A few years later, when he moved, Tom decided he'd look after the books of Linda's dog training business. In August, he'd seen Linda and her dog. Park ran the course to the Agony Avenue was of Canada championships in Milton, Ont., and he brought her to his wife. Linda and Peter moved to his house. They moved to his house. They moved to his house.

On a recent Sunday morning, Linda and Tom were talking about what they would do that day. At 7:30, according to her sister, Linda,

they heard a crash outside their house. The driver of a Passat had lost control over the blind hill and crashed into a tree. Within moments the pair was outside. They found a young man bleeding seemingly from everywhere. He couldn't breathe and he'd lost his hair. He wanted something to wipe the blood from his eyes. Tom ran back home to get Kleenex and call 911.

Linda was relieved when she saw Tom coming back out to help, wearing a look of concerned calm as he came out of the driveway. A black car, driven by a young volunteer firefighter responding to the 911 call, came over the hill. Linda saw car under its arm and knew, like the Passat before it, that it had lost control. Eyes locked with Tom's, she screamed for him to get out of the way. In that moment of calamity she realized that time really does slow down, and one day Tom saw what was going to happen. Tom Walker was struck by the car and died on Sept. 3, 2007.

BY MARTIN PATRIGUIN

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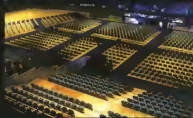
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